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VOLUME LXIII, NUMBER 19394

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1996 • TISHREI 21, 5757 • 22 JAMAD 1, 1417

NIS 6.70 (Eilat NIS 5.70)

IDF prepared, hopes for quiet weekend

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

WITH its troops poised to meet any violent protests with force, while at the same time offering to ease the closure, Israel is hoping the weekend passes quietly.

Security sources said Palestinian police are for the moment preventing any serious unrest from erupting, but Islamic militants are trying to incite riots.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai convened top security commanders to assess the situation yesterday and decided to gradually ease the closure that has kept nearly one million Palestinians confined to their towns and villages. For a start, he ordered that tanks be pulled out of view around Palestinian cities and eased the internal closure in the Bethlehem district.

Israel also allowed 50 trucks to pass through the Erez checkpoint to stock up on food supplies and return to the Gaza Strip.

Sources in the Defense Ministry said Mordechai wants to gradually open the Palestinian-controlled areas and allow more goods to be imported and exported into the autonomy zone. The sources stressed, however, that all moves will be subordinate to security considerations.

Hamas, meanwhile, has called on Palestinians to stage "total confrontations" with soldiers and settlers after Friday prayers. In a statement, Hamas labeled last week's violence the "Aksa intifada" and urged that it go on "as long as the crimes of Judaization and settlement continue."

Under Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's orders, Palestinian Police circulated in Gaza Strip schools and universities warning students to refrain from violent demonstrations, if reported.

But the IDF knows that all it (Continued on Page 18)



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his wife, Sara, return from Washington yesterday. (Reuters)

PM to Palestinians: Don't lose faith

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday appealed to Palestinians not to lose hope in peace talks, and said the Washington summit they called a failure was a chance for a "fresh start" on peace.

"I ask you, don't go into mourning. Don't lose hope," Netanyahu said in an address to Palestinians on Channel 1's Arabic service. "This is an opportunity for a fresh start for the peace process."

Netanyahu, meanwhile, has assured Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat he intends to complete the Erez negotiations within 45 days, a senior American official said yesterday. (See story, Page 2)

In a phone conversation last night, Netanyahu told Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak that if the Palestinians take a practical approach he has no doubt that Sunday's negotiations will be productive. He also expressed his regret that Mubarak hadn't attended the Washington summit.

He appealed to Palestinians to remain calm and have faith in negotiations, scheduled to resume on Sunday at the Erez checkpoint.

"I want to say something to Palestinian viewers. There are no winners and no losers if we fight each other. If we fight each other and if we return to bloody riots, we will both be losers. If we walk together on the process of peace... we will both be winners," Netanyahu said.

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

Netanyahu returned yesterday from the Washington summit - hailed as a success by Israel.

But Palestinians called the summit a failure, after Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat failed to win a target date for Hebron redeployment or a pledge to close the new exit to the Hasmonaean Tunnel.

Netanyahu said Israel and the Palestinians are still far from a solution to their problems, but that progress could be achieved in the continuous negotiations.

"There is a way to move forward, and this is around the negotiating table," Netanyahu said.

Netanyahu said the Erez talks would focus on security issues and the Hebron redeployment, and said he intends to honor the Hebron deal "with proper security arrangements, of course." Palestinians have rejected any renegotiation of the plan.

Officials who returned from Washington with Netanyahu said that at the summit Israel demanded that the Palestinians act to improve the security situation on the West Bank, so as to lower the chances of violence between the IDF and the Palestinian Police and to minimize the possibility of injury to soldiers and settlers in sensitive areas.

The Erez discussions will focus on three demands, they said:

- Minimizing the friction between the IDF and Palestinian Police. Israel will recommend forming neutral zones between Area A and Area B and not allowing armed Palestinian Police in these areas.

- Cracking down on Palestinian security forces by having the PA take a larger role in operational decisions.

- Reducing the number of arms at sensitive areas. In the areas where the Palestinian Police and IDF have clashed, the police would be barred from using automatic weapons.

These demands would also apply to Hebron, within the framework of redeployment, the officials said.

A senior official who returned with Netanyahu said that Israelis and Palestinians needed a "stabilization period" of a few months after the explosion of violence.

In Morocco, where he stopped to brief King Hassan, Arafat said the future of peace depends on Israel's next move.

Netanyahu will report to the Knesset and the cabinet about the summit at special sessions today. He is also expected to update President Ezer Weizman.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister's Office is preparing for the talks at Erez. It has not yet been decided if Netanyahu and Arafat will participate in the first meeting on Sunday.

Upon his return, Netanyahu met with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who updated him on the situation in the territories.

Table tennis coach convicted of spying

TABLE tennis coach Alexander Radtke has been held for three months on charges of spying for the former Soviet Union, Channel 2 reported yesterday. According to the charge sheet, after arriving in 1979, Radtke relayed data on Israel's military, political and economic situation to the KGB throughout the 1980s. (Him)

Amir Brothers and Adani sentenced

RAINE MARCUS

ASSASSIN Yigal Amir was sentenced to a further five years' imprisonment by Tel Aviv District Court yesterday for his part in conspiring to harm Arabs and their property. The sentence will run consecutively with the life plus six-year term he is already serving for murdering Yitzhak Rabin and wounding bodyguard Yoram Rubin.

His brother Haggai, convicted of conspiring to murder Rabin, harm Palestinians and their property, manufacturing bullets and explosives, and possession of illegal (Continued on Page 20)

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PM sets 45-day target for Erez talks

PRIME MINISTER Binyamin Netanyahu has assured Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat he intends to complete the Erez negotiations within 45 days, a senior American official said yesterday.

The official stated that the Hebron redeployment component of the talks "can be solved in five days," but that due to the breakdown in trust between the IDF and Palestinian Police, discussions on security arrangements in the territories would require more than just time.

Netanyahu had rebuffed US and Palestinian efforts to commit to any target date for completing the talks. It appears, however, that he, at least discreetly, told Arafat he has a timetable in mind.

"We don't have a deadline. We have a time frame. The prime minister promised Arafat he hoped to do it in 45 days," the official said.

HILLEL KUTTLER
WASHINGTON

Netanyahu had initially wanted to "trade" such a time frame for agreement on security issues, but the Palestinian delegation to the summit did not include security specialists, "so they couldn't do it," the official said. At the end, he gave Arafat the 45-day timetable.

Meanwhile, there are indications that Secretary of State Warren Christopher will participate in the Erez talks, either before or after his visit to four African nations next week.

Christopher denied yesterday that such plans are afoot, but said he is "certainly prepared to go" if he thinks it useful.

"I don't have any plans to do so at the present time, but I'm going to be watching the situation closely to see if things develop in a way that might make a trip by myself a

constructive and positive trip," he told reporters.

US special Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross, Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk, and Consul General in Jerusalem Edward Abington are to run the Erez talks, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said.

Ross said his role would be to help Israel and the PA "shape the agenda" for negotiations "to isolate those issues that they might be able to make headway on first [and] deal with the harder issues a little bit later."

"We're out of the woods," he told NBC's *Today* show. "The fact that we have them talking is very important, but we have to begin to produce results."

Christopher also rejected the claim that Arafat is returning home with nothing to show for the two-day summit, saying that "everyone comes out a winner."



A soldier chases stone-throwers in Hebron yesterday. Scenes of soldiers beating Arab youths, overturning market stalls, and pushing women were filmed by a BBC television crew, prompting the IDF Spokesman to issue a statement stressing that the soldiers were 'executing an arrest of stone-throwers who put them in danger.' Nevertheless, the army said it would investigate the force's 'irregular activities.'

Tension-filled quiet reigns near Al-Bireh

AN eerie quiet reigned yesterday between the Al-Bireh IDF checkpoint and the nearest Palestinian Police checkpoint, over a kilometer away, an area which just a week earlier was the stage of bloody rioting and gunfights.

Just how long will the quiet remain? Not for long, if random conversations with Palestinians from the area are any indication.

"Arafat did not get anything in Washington. There is still a closure. The tanks are still here. People are still angry," said Abu Ali Nasralla, a 36-year-old contractor who lives in Al-Bireh.

"You don't forget very easily when you see people being killed in front of your eyes," Nasralla said, recalling last week's unrest near the checkpoint, just several kilometers north of Jerusalem.

Lu' ai Gbenem, a Palestinian policeman, readily admitted he opened fire on IDF soldiers at the checkpoint during last week's rioting.

BILL HUTMAN

"A 10-year-old boy was shot [by the soldiers] right in front of me. That's when I got so angry that I took my gun and began shooting back," he said.

Gbenem was standing near a Palestinian Police roadblock on the road to Ramallah, signaling to vehicles that were driving toward the IDF checkpoint to the south that the road was closed.

The area was a de facto no-man's land. Stores were shut down. Pedestrians were also forbidden from entering. The road itself was still cluttered with stones and broken glass from last week's unrest. The only thing that appeared to have changed since was the IDF checkpoint itself, which has been reinforced because of the threat violence may again erupt.

"You see those tanks up there. If they weren't there I'm sure they would attack us again," said a soldier

manning the checkpoint, who declined to give his name.

"I was here last week when they attacked us," he added.

Ali Jarbawi, an associate professor of Political Science at Beit Zeit University, cautioned that the relative quiet in recent days should not be misinterpreted as indicating the Palestinians had given up on their fight.

"The frustration of last week is the result of two years of frustration, that was building up like a pressure cooker. With the explosion last week, people released a lot of their anger again. It will take time for them to have strength again [to take to the streets]," Jarbawi said.

"No one can tell when it will happen again. It might explode tomorrow, it might explode in several weeks, or even in six months," Jarbawi said. "If on Sunday, nothing happens at Erez that gives people hope, it might be next week."

Levy lashes out at UN

MARILYN HENRY
NEW YORK

FIVE days after a blistering debate in the Security Council, Foreign Minister David Levy yesterday assailed those in the international community who attacked the Netanyahu government and said Israel is committed to peace.

Speaking to the 51st session of the UN General Assembly, Levy said part of the international community has deemed the election of Binyamin Netanyahu's government "impertinent."

"Everything that has been said and done by the government has been minimized and portrayed negatively," he said. "We have faced sarcasm and denigrations" in the conduct of peace negotiations.

Security is neither an Israeli obsession or a blind belief, but the cornerstone of peace. It cannot be

held hostage to terrorism, violence or armed conflict, he said.

Levy did not mention the Hasmonaean Tunnel, which had exercised the Security Council at week's end, with more than four dozen nations taking part in a debate that was highly critical of Israel. Nor did he mention the council's 14-0 vote for a resolution that indirectly called on Israel to close the tunnel and to get the negotiations with the Palestinians back on track.

The US abstained from that council vote.

Levy also did not devote much attention to Egypt, which had led the acrimonious council debate. In brief remarks he said Israel views

Egypt and President Hosni Mubarak as "our partners in the future of peace." He also called on Syria to resume negotiations, saying, "We fully recognize the important role that Syria can play in the shaping of a durable peace in our region."

One day after the Washington summit, Levy thanked the US for convening the two-day meeting, and said that the role and contribution of the US "remain unique."

Noting that the Israeli and Palestinian teams will begin continuous negotiations on Sunday, Levy told the assembly, "We recognize that we all must display good faith and mutual understanding in order to fulfill our mission."

The partners, he said, "had the will and capacity ... to achieve concrete progress."

Police prepare for attacks

BILL HUTMAN

THE police are continuing to brace for terror attacks, with security sources explaining the prospect of the opening of negotiations at Erez on Sundays has had little effect on terrorist's plans.

The General Security Service yesterday passed on intelligence about the threat of terror attacks to police.

Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz held an emergency meeting of police brass to review internal security measures.

Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit met with his top subordinates to review plans for securing today's prayers at Al-Aksa Mosque, where last week three Palestinians were shot dead by police during rioting.

Between 3,500 and 4,000 policemen will be on duty in eastern Jerusalem today, according to police sources. Moslem worshippers will be checked before entering the Temple Mount, as they were last week, the sources said. Police will also use a helicopter to oversee events from above.

Police were considering preventing Palestinians under 30 from entering the mount, in hopes this would prevent rioting. But as of last night, no decision was taken on the move, which would likely spark sharp criticism from the city's Moslem leadership.

All vacations have been canceled for the nation's policemen since last week, with forces operating on an emergency 12-hour-on, 12-hour-off schedule.

Right gives mixed reviews on PM's trip

HERB KEINON

THE signs that greeted Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu on his return to Jerusalem yesterday — "Be Courageous and Strong," alongside some more critical placards that read "Arafat is not a friend or partner" — reflect the split among settlement leaders as to whether he won or lost in Washington.

"Clearly Arafat's expectations were not met last night," said Yehiel Leiter, spokesman for the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. "The prime minister stood up to international pressure and said 'No,' when the world wanted to hear 'Yes.' He placed our historic rights and national security above any other concern."

Leiter said that although the council would be happier if Netanyahu had formally scratched the Oslo accords and told Arafat "exactly what he is, this would not have been constructive politically."

Leiter said that considering the accords

Netanyahu inherited, "he is doing his best under the circumstances."

Not everyone is so convinced. Shaul Mizrahi, head of the Givat Ze'ev Local Council, said, "He did not succeed, the process is continuing to go forward. I hope, however, that the country will succeed in seeing who our partner is — that if Arafat doesn't like our building a new project in Givat Ze'ev, he will give orders to open fire."

Kiryat Arba activist Elyakim Ha'etzi said he can "neither forgive or forget that Hebron was the first item on the agenda [at the summit], and not the Palestinian infractions of the agreement. Netanyahu gave in on an issue he made the center piece of his campaign, that he would demand the Palestinians abide by the agreements."

Ha'etzi said that the prime minister sent mixed messages in Washington, and that any

impression of standing firm was offset by his warm handshake with Arafat.

David Wilder, the spokesman for the Hebron settlement which came out with a congratulatory statement for Netanyahu, said that although he was not thrilled by the handshake, and by Netanyahu's reference to Arafat as a "partner and friend," he understands the handshake.

"This proves that Netanyahu is not only a good politician, but also a statesman," Wilder said. "Many things were said and done in Washington that should not have been said or done. This may have been his compromise to achieve his goals, which was not to give Arafat a prize for killing our soldiers."

Wilder said he is not overly concerned that the negotiations scheduled to begin Sunday in Erez will lead to an IDF pullout in Hebron.

"They have been talking about the abandonment of Hebron for a long time, so far it has been prevented," Wilder said.

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Weizman 'optimistic' after summit

PRESIDENT Ezer Weizman said yesterday that he is optimistic that as long as Israelis and Palestinians are talking, "there would be no shooting."

"I am optimistic and full of hope that we will find the path, that we will find a solution on how to live with the Palestinians — because that is the real problem," Weizman said. "If we keep meeting and talking, then there will be a chance."

Weizman was speaking at the Moshav Hibat-Zion, home of Supt. Guy Saguy, the border policeman who was killed when Palestinian policeman shot at his post in Tul-karm last Friday. The president came to extend his condolences to the Saguy family, his 120th visit to families of fallen soldiers or terror victims since the beginning of the year.

Weizman also visited wounded soldiers at Haifa's Rambam Hospital, including two soldiers wounded in the Hizbullah attack on an post in south Lebanon on Thursday.

Gil Hechtenberg, 20, of Kiryat Haim, was still in serious condition with head injuries yesterday. Shlomi Warenstein, 21, who suffered moderate injuries, was in fair condition after making improvement. (11m)

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הלכה מן האל

Israeli Arabs and opposition to coordinate activities

DAVID RUDGE

OPPOSITION parties and Israeli Arab leaders have agreed to coordinate activities to protest the government's policies and help promote the peace process. The decision was taken at a special meeting in Shfar'am yesterday.

The meeting was attended by senior members of Labor and Meretz, MKs from the United Arab List and Hadash, local council heads and leading members of the Arab community, and representatives of Peace Now and Dor Shalem Doreh Shalom (a whole generation demands peace). MK Abdul Wahab Darawshe, head of the Democratic Arab Party, said the first joint demonstration would take place in Jerusalem at the end of the month. "It was decided that a mass demonstration of Jews and Arabs will be held in Jerusalem on October 26, the anniversary on the Hebrew calendar of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin," he said. "It is slated to be a huge rally, for peace and the implementation of signed agreements and against violence, with Jewish and Arab speakers."

12 injured in traffic accidents

ONE person was critically injured and four others seriously injured yesterday morning when a truck hit their car, which was parked on the shoulder of the highway a kilometer from the Yavne interchange. The road was closed and the injured were taken to Sheba Hospital in Tel Hashomer. Five people were injured - two seriously and three slightly - in an accident involving four cars near the Alonim junction. The accident is believed to have been caused by tailgating. The injured were all taken to Ha'emek Hospital in Afula. In another incident, a bicycle rider was critically injured in an accident near the Kibbutz Shlulot junction in the Beit She'an Valley. He was taken to Ha'emek Hospital. A man was lightly to moderately injured in a hit-and-run incident in Umm el-Fahm. He was taken to Ha'emek Hospital. Police believe that the incident was intentional. *Itm*



Worshippers pray yesterday at Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, where it was opened for the first time since last week's clashes with Palestinian Police. National Religious Party MK Hanan Porat led a group of worshippers to the tomb. 'Jews must not be prevented from visiting their holy places, even during these times,' he said. (Ariel Jerusalem)

Peres: Arafat asked for delay in Hebron redeployment

ELDAD BECK
PARIS

A FEW months before the May elections, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat had requested Israeli authorities not to evacuate Hebron to prevent its fall into the hands of Hamas, former prime minister Shimon Peres revealed yesterday.

In an interview with the French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Peres said that Arafat wished to postpone the withdrawal since his police were incapable of taking control of the town.

"At the time, 90 percent of Hebron's inhabitants were controlled by Hamas. So, I can reveal today that Arafat himself didn't want Israel to hand over Hebron to the Islamists. Why? Simply because at that moment the PA did not have an organized and efficient police," Peres said.

He said that after the recent violence in the territories, the peace process was "wounded," but in no way "dead."

ing at Israeli soldiers is "absolutely intolerable and inexcusable. Those policemen should be tried."

Peres did not exclude the possibility of a national unity government. "Once again," he said, "for the sake of peace, I don't exclude anything."

He called the European Union not to consider financial or economic sanctions on Israel. "Such measures will be a serious mistake. I don't believe financial sanctions can have any beneficial effect. It raises national feelings and creates unanimity against those who practice it," he said.

NRP MKs take tour of tunnel

LIAT COLLINS

NATIONAL Religious Party MKs bypassed the crowds queuing up outside the Hasmonean Tunnel yesterday and stepped inside for a brief tour of the site, stopping to recite psalms at the spot considered closest to the Holy of Holies. The MKs' thoughts turned from Jerusalem to Hebron, where they fear the possible results of redeployment.

The politicians agreed that opening an exit in the tunnel had provided only the pretext to the Arab rioting and demanded new security arrangements be made with the Palestinian Authority in Hebron in light of the shooting of IDF soldiers and Israeli civilians by Palestinian police.

MK Hanan Porat said the NRP would oppose the arming of Palestinian police in Hebron after redeployment.

"We won't be able to agree under any circumstances to the handing of arms to Palestinian police. Anyone who gives them weapons can't say afterwards that his hands didn't spill the blood if heaven forbid - the arms are used against Jews," he said.

MK Sbaul Yahalom criticized the reported use of the word "friend" by Prime Minister

Binyamin Netanyahu to describe Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat.

"It was proven last week that he is not a friend of mine, not of the prime minister and not of the State of Israel. I suppose one says certain things when sitting down with someone, but it was shown last week that we have a war with the Palestinian Authority and we must respect them, but treat them with caution."

MK Zvi Hendel praised the strong stand the prime minister took in Washington and criticized the left for "the unreasonable pressure it activated in the world against (Binyamin) Bibi Netanyahu and its attitude that this pogrom could be attributed to the tunnel. Thus a situation was created in which instead of the murderer having to take certain action, we're being told to."

After receiving explanations from officials there, the MKs said they were convinced that the tunnel did not harm Moslem holy sites.

For most of the MKs, the visit was not their first to the tunnel, which they noted has been operating as an archeological site for several years.

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Police prepare attacks

Police are preparing for attacks in various areas of the city. The article discusses the security measures being taken by the police force in response to recent events.

Businessman optimistic after summit

A businessman is optimistic about the future after a summit. The article mentions the businessman's views on the current situation and his expectations for the future.

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HAIFA 20 Nordan, Hadar Hacarmel, Telephone 04-8623166, Published daily except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine
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The summit results

THE government has been quick to claim victory after the Washington summit, while the Palestinians and much of the Arab world have labeled it a failure for their side. The truth, however, lies somewhere in between. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat did achieve less than he wanted from the summit, and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu deserves praise for not giving in on several crucial points. However, the fact that the summit took place at all was a major victory for Arafat, as was the start of continuous high-level negotiations at Erez checkpoint.

Netanyahu's most signal accomplishment was his refusal to commit to any dates, other than the opening of talks at Erez on Sunday. He refused to set a date for the opening of final-status talks, correctly asserting that there are many interim issues which must still be resolved — most importantly, the security relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in light of last week's armed attacks by Palestinian policemen on Israel. He also refused to close the Hasmonaean Tunnel.

Netanyahu refused to set even a "soft" deadline for the redeployment from Hebron. The prime minister remained firm on the need to make substantial changes in the security provisions of the agreement on Hebron following last week's violence, and wisely insisted that setting a date for the redeployment would simply encourage the PA to play hardball in the hope that the ticking clock would lead to Israeli concessions.

By failing to give Arafat any of the concrete "gestures" he had requested — closure of the tunnel and dates for the start of final status talks and the redeployment from Hebron — Netanyahu ensured that Arafat did not get everything he wanted out of last week's violence. This is crucial, since the more successful a tactic violence proves to be, the more likely Arafat is to continue resorting to it.

Where Netanyahu failed, however, is that Arafat did nevertheless reap enormous political gains.

To some extent, this was due to factors beyond the prime minister's control. The fact that Arafat can muster the sympathy and support of the entire world — including the Israeli left — by shooting at Israeli settlers and soldiers is a significant factor in his decision to adopt such tactics. The Arab world, Europe and Israel's own Labor Party were all quick to blame Israel for Arafat's decision to inaugurate a three-day shooting war. Even the US, while it did not actually condemn Israel, never so much as suggested that this was an inappropriate way for the P.A. to deal with its grievances.

It was this widespread international and domestic pressure that brought Netanyahu to Washington for a summit meeting with Arafat. Its almost certain outcome, however, is that Arafat will have no qualms about using similar tactics the next time he is unhappy with the way the negotiations are going.

Not only did Arafat achieve international sympathy and a summit meeting in reward for instigating armed riots, he also obtained the promise of "continuous" negotiations, under the auspices of US Middle East peace coordinator

Dennis Ross — who has made no secret of the fact that he believes the way to achieve progress is through Israeli concessions. There is obviously nothing wrong with Israel and the PA agreeing to intensive negotiations, but the fact that this commitment was made in response to violence sends the message that violence is an effective tool.

US Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole pointed out one of the prime minister's greatest diplomatic failures, however, when he noted that the summit wrap-up statement failed to include "an unequivocal condemnation of the recent violence." All that it included was a promise that both sides would refrain from using violence as a means to resolve their differences in the future. Netanyahu is hailing this as a significant victory, yet it is as hollow as the oft-violated promises he used to jeer at the Labor government for citing as achievements.

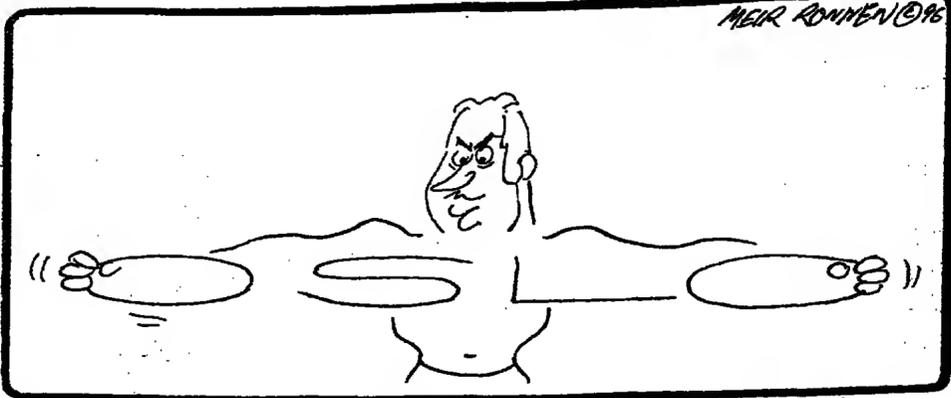
One of the most valid criticisms the Likud had of the Oslo process was that Labor essentially allowed Arafat to sell it the same merchandise three times over. Under the 1993 Oslo Accords, Israel granted the PLO diplomatic recognition in exchange for a promise that the PLO would amend its covenant. The 1994 Cairo Agreement gave the PLO control of Gaza and Jericho in exchange for the same promise. The 1995 Interim Agreement gave the PLO six major cities in Judea and Samaria, plus civilian control of most of the smaller towns and villages there, in exchange for yet another promise that the PLO covenant would be amended. Yet this promise, according to leading Middle East expert and Meretz supporter Prof. Yehoshua Porat, remains unfulfilled to this day — despite the PLO's claims to have done so this May.

Arafat also promised to renounce violence under each of these same three agreements. If none of these promises were sufficient to keep him from inciting last week's mini-war, it is hard to imagine why Netanyahu thinks yet another promise will do the trick, and even harder to understand why the prime minister says he and Arafat have now found a basis for trust which was not there previously. For most Israelis, it is hard to see the death of 15 soldiers at the hands of Palestinian policemen as a basis for trust.

This is all the more true since PA officials are already warning of renewed violence should the Erez negotiations fail to meet their desires. In an official statement published on Wednesday, the PA Council spoke openly of last week's attacks as part of "the battle for Jerusalem."

It is to be hoped that the PA will think better of its rhetoric and allow the Erez negotiations to proceed without violence. If it does not, the talks should be immediately terminated. Even if it does, however, Netanyahu must remain firm on Israel's legitimate security requirements, the need for which became so clear last week. Giving in to Arafat's demands in order to "save" the process from Palestinian violence will only result in more violence the next time the PLO's demands are not met. To paraphrase American essayist and novelist Heywood Brown, appearing an aggressor in the hopes that he will eventually renounce violence is like throwing sticks to a tiger in hopes that he will turn into a vegetarian.

The strongman



Seek to be wise, not right

CHAIM HERZOG

A few weeks ago I published an article in these columns maintaining that election promises notwithstanding, we could find ourselves in a situation of no peace and no security. This evaluation has unfortunately proved justified.

Overnight, as it were, we have become prey to considerable doubt concerning the progress of the peace process, a process that enjoys undoubted majority support.

It would appear that sheer mishandling and occasionally even a derogatory approach to our negotiating partners have brought about this situation. We have negotiated ourselves into a cul-de-sac — primarily because of lack of planning, possibly as a result of the comparative inexperience of the new team — and that is bad.

Of course the Palestinian side cannot emerge free of blame for the recent tragic events. The armed attack by Palestinian policemen against Israelis with whom they were coordinating the maintenance of law and order is a very serious and unacceptable development, and it will add a measure of suspicion and caution on Israel's part in the future.

However, in summing up the whole situation it seems that with a little foresight and without endeavoring to be right but rather to be wise, this tragic situation could have been avoided.

It would have been fair to assume some reaction following our opening of the Hasmonaean Tunnel exit, and one may justifiably ask: Were any advance preparations made to cope with

the new situation? An analysis of what subsequently happened leaves one with the uncomfortable feeling that such preparations were mainly conspicuous by their absence.

In the first place, the information campaign was a failure. Apart from a few outstanding spokesmen, one got the impression that it was the other side that had suc-

ceeded in dominating the international media. What occurred proved that no basic preparation had been made to meet the onslaught in the media. And when the struggle moved to the UN Security Council, we suddenly discovered that we had no ambassador there. The picture that emerged was, at best, one of reaction to developments. I read somewhere that the detailed maps required to explain the situation abroad reached their destination days too late.

(It is worth recalling here that for the past three months our main foreign service posts have not been manned — beginning with a director-general whose job it is to activate our very excellent team.) Had anybody stopped to think for a moment at the planning stage — if such there was — he or she could not but have been aware that the struggle would take place, for a period, in one of the most important arenas from an information point of view, the Security Council. The prime minister, a former ambassador to the UN, is only too well aware of what this implies.

Yet one cannot avoid the impression that the foreign service machine was not warned in advance of the possibility that opening the tunnel exit could spark a major international conflict. From my experience, which includes major struggles in the Security Council over the Temple Mount and Hebron during our most difficult years at the UN, the central importance of correct advance deployment and turning this vital arena into our central information stage is all too evident.

As long as the US continues to back us we are in a position to face up politically to our enemies, but we dare not ignore the intrinsic importance of the international stage at the UN, which can be put to good use, provided correct advance planning is done.

It was clear too that the nation had been kept in the dark, and that there was a gap between the lead-

ership and the public, which was exposed to what was at times a screaming-headline media approach.

Apart from the outstanding effectiveness of Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai in this respect, the ordinary citizen found himself wondering and worrying.

THE PROCESS that led to the convening of the Washington summit reflects faulty political development. The fact that what goes on in our towns, villages and backyards can become the subject of an international summit and of public negotiations surely reveals a basic political flaw.

Yasser Arafat, with his cunning political approach, succeeded in transposing a direct dialogue from the Erez checkpoint to the White House, with a participation which could not of necessity always be favorable to Israel.

Our prime minister was placed in the position of needing to avoid a clash with the president of the US — a true friend of Israel if there ever was one — during the latter's election campaign. At times the conference reflected nothing so much as the pressures being brought to bear on the peace process by the Arab world.

The process is in danger; its failure could constitute a national political and security disaster.

We must hope and pray that leadership and wisdom will combine to lead us out of this crisis and back on the high road to peace.

The writer was Israel's sixth president.

With a little foresight a tragic situation might well have been avoided

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Always the guilty party

YIGAL CARMON

FOR seven months after Madrid a Likud government conducted the negotiations with Syria, to no avail.

"The problem lies not with Syria, but with the Likud," said the opposition Labor party to the voting public. "Give us a chance, and we'll show you that those who really want peace — namely, who are ready to pay its price in territory — will usher it in."

In June 1992 Labor got its chance. For four years, the Labor-Meretz government conducted the negotiations with Syria, again to no avail. Neither its moderate positions nor the charm of its negotiating team proved useful; nor did the recognition of Syrian sovereignty over the Golan or the readiness to withdraw totally under certain conditions. Syria wouldn't budge.

It had one demand: unconditional withdrawal — and above all, no normalization. Peace, yes — but the kind that precludes peaceful relations; "full" and "total" peace, but without embassies, open borders, commerce or tourism.

So what if president Bush, back in Madrid, had insisted upon these conditions for Israeli withdrawal? What matters is what the Syrians do, not what the Jews or their American supporters say.

Syria's rejection of Rabin's proposal for full withdrawal shattered even members of the US administration. "Assad blew it," they said.

Shimon Peres also admitted in interviews that he had examined the possibility of making progress on the Syrian track by the original

date scheduled for the Israeli elections; but when it turned out that there was no chance of this happening he brought the elections ahead to May.

It might have been expected that members of Labor — who are no less patriotic than anyone else — would expose Assad's rejection of Rabin's proposal as the total intransigence it was. After all,

that Assad had already undergone a strategic reversal as a result of which he was ready for true peace.

Almost silent is former ambassador Itamar Rabinovich. Only after completing his tour of duty did he reveal that "Syria wants withdrawal without normalization."

Yet during his four years of conducting the negotiations for the

world, the government is now talking to the Syrians about nothing less than a written ratification of Rabin's proposal, which Assad has already rejected. And all in order to appease the Syrian leader and bring him back to the negotiating table.

This is how the Likud government singlehandedly transforms Assad from a rejecter of peace into a "pursuer of peace" while making itself look like the intransigent party that refuses to withdraw for no justifiable reason.

This lack of political acumen will have more serious consequences. The readiness to withdraw in principle — that Rabin would not agree to give Clinton other than verbally — will turn, in the hands of the Likud, into an official, written Israeli commitment given to Syria for no substantial return.

Meanwhile, the conditions Rabin laid down for withdrawal will be gradually forgotten, until finally Israel is called upon to withdraw without normalization or be regarded as the party responsible for the next war.

When we arrive at that point, it is the question of whether we were "innocent" or "guilty" of causing the war that will determine our destiny.

Do the politicians and experts — both in Labor and the Likud who are absolving the Syrians of their guilt really understand what they are doing?

The writer, a former prime ministerial adviser on counterterrorism, was a member of the first negotiating team with Syria.

What is the government doing with the new revelation about Syria? Acting against its own interests again

what could be more crucial than reinforcing Israel's justified stance in face of an enemy like Syria under whose occupation of Lebanon some of our best fighters have been killed and continue to be killed and wounded?

Yet all of them — with the exception of Yossi Beilin — have stayed silent. So have experts like Professor Moshe Maoz, who almost swore on Assad's whiskers "that if only Israel consented to full withdrawal the Syrians would agree to normalization."

Also silent are the Americans, who so misled Rabin over Assad's alleged readiness for normalization. Silent too is former intelligence chief Uri Saguy, who for five long years didn't tire of preaching to Israeli governments

only knew about "breakthroughs" and about how his negotiating team was succeeding in turning Syria's positions around toward peace and normalization.

AND WHAT is the Likud government doing with this new revelation that Syria wouldn't agree to normalization even in exchange for full withdrawal? Again it is acting against its own interests.

As with the Palestinian issue, where the government so longs to be seen as the "good guy" that it has virtually erased PLO breaches of the Oslo accords from the public consciousness — turning itself into sole violator and "defendant" — so with Syria. Instead of exposing Assad's intransigence in the

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITIES

Sir, — I totally agree with Mr. Netanyahu that the opening of the Hasmonaean Tunnel in Jerusalem is only a pretext for the current Palestinian uprising, orchestrated by Mr. Arafat. The real cause is the mounting frustration of the Palestinian people, who don't yet see any economic improvements resulting from the peace process and the delaying tactics of the Netanyahu government, which doesn't seem to realize it is playing with fire. Everything the Rabin-Peres government attained over years of building trust between Israel and the Palestinians, between Israel and the Arab countries, has been thrown down the drain in a few months of intransigence and arrogant statements of the current government.

I don't think we should not take a slightly more cautious stand than the Rabin-Peres government, but the way the current government has cornered the Palestinians doesn't take their sensitivities into account, announcing the expansion of settlements, delaying even talking about a redeployment in Hebron and taking an intransigent position about Jerusalem. We have to remember that the Palestinians are as paranoid about us as we are about them. It is not fair to blame only our current government, Mr. Arafat

bears a heavy responsibility as well, inciting the Palestinian population and speaking with a forked tongue at most times. But the greatest responsibility lies with us, the Israeli electorate. Although with only a small majority, at the last elections we voted for distrust and fear above trust and courage. The cartoonists abroad who pictured the outcome of the elections as a victory for Hamas terrorists weren't so far off the mark. The results are here for all to see: quickly deteriorating relations with our neighboring Arab countries and an extremely dangerous interior situation.

Is there an alternative to the peace process as started with the Oslo accords? I don't think so, except for a bloody war between Israel and the Palestinian autonomous areas, bloodier than anything Israel has ever known.

The situation calls for the immediate formation of a national unity government, that can sit down with the Palestinians and return to negotiations about the details of Oslo II.

Meanwhile, we could close the Hasmonaean Tunnel, which is indeed a non-issue. Why should we risk human lives over it?

EVA VAN SONDEREN
Jerusalem.

RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITIES

Sir, — The disturbances following the opening of the Hasmonaean Tunnel may have been politically inspired. But the extent of the Arab reaction was due to the fact that it touched deeply-held religious sensibilities. By ignoring or underestimating them, Prime Minister Netanyahu and others who approved the move at this time bear a heavy responsibility for the death of 14 Israelis and some 50 Palestinian Arabs (to date).

It isn't that taking religious sensibilities, irrational as they may be, into account is something that isn't done. A look at the Bar-Ilan Street controversy will show that. But, of course, there it was Jewish sensibilities which were at play.

PETER M. LAHAV
Jerusalem.

HATE CAMPAIGN

Sir, — Larry Derfner's vicious attacks against the haredim ("Nothing to lose," September 19) must be stopped. Blaming a small segment of the population for all the ills of a society is painfully reminiscent of traditional antisemitism.

Mr. Derfner would like to put "some idealism and passion" into the Barak campaign "by fighting the hostile force" called haredim. This hate campaign is extremely dangerous and destructive and threatens to divide us even more.

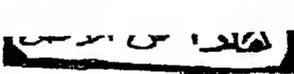
SANDIE FREISHTAT
Jerusalem.

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS

Sir, — I read with interest the article by Gloria Deutsch and Diana Lerner about the Anglo-Saxon immigrants in the Rosh Hashana Supplement of September 13, and wish to congratulate them on their effort. But there is a number of better-known Anglos, specifically from South Africa; and given my Zionist

Youth background an article about these true Zionists who not only made it in Israel but who did much for Israel while still in their home country, would, I believe, make fascinating reading.

HYMIE LEVY
Kfar Sava.



Let's all pretend that...

BARRY RUBIN

ADVANCING the process doesn't necessarily spell progress. Photos of the two sides talking look good and may even prevent violence, but we know it in advance: These negotiations will not succeed.

It is as essential as it is depressing to say straight out that there is no way Binyamin Netanyahu's government and Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority will ever reach agreement.

With no chance of a deal on the critical issues of a Palestinian state, east Jerusalem, and Jewish settlements, there will be no final status agreement in 1999.

Of course, it is in everyone's interest to pretend otherwise. Netanyahu doesn't want to say that compromise is impossible, since in that case he cannot fulfill his pledge of peace with security. Such an outcome would belie his argument that Israel can stay in the territories while normalizing relations with much of the Arab world and maintaining a warm link with the US. There is no doubt who will be blamed if the process collapses.

Arafat, for his part, has committed so much of his credibility to the path of negotiated peace that to try to change at this point would cost him massive domestic support. And were he to go beyond the point of militancy seen in last week's riots, Israel would be forced to dismantle the PA. Arafat can hardly afford to flee in 1997 the way he had to do when Israel first conquered the territories in 1967.

The Americans have an equally large stake in acting as if the two sides can reach some conclusion. This Arab-Israeli process is the largest, and arguably the only, foreign policy achievement of the Clinton administration. A failure would be blamed squarely on the incompetence of the US as sponsor and host, and the American position in the region would deteriorate.

These facts were the subtext of last week's violence.

Certainly, an amazing hysteria was built around the opening of a door in an existing Jerusalem tourist attraction. Provocateurs

...the Netanyahu government and the PA will reach agreement. But there's no way

the Israeli-Palestinian agreements. Palestinian casualties were so high because, in contrast to the intifada, Israeli forces were confronted with a large number of weapons aimed at them.

The international response was that the solution is very simple. First, the two sides must meet. Second, Israel must make concessions. The fact that Israeli-Palestinian talks must take place under American tutelage and that concessions are demanded from only one side are both steps backwards.

Netanyahu's election victory has put him, and all of us, into a very serious situation.

A few weeks ago, he was doing Arafat a big favor by meeting with him. Now Arafat is doing Netanyahu a big favor by agreeing to see him. A lot of the gains of the last three years have been squandered in three months.

But let us suppose the tunnel door had been opened by prime minister Shimon Peres's government. Would there have been such an explosion, despite the existence of the same alleged religious sensitivities? I doubt it. There was not the same degree of raging mistrust, of unspoken

knowledge that we are heading toward a dead end.

THANKS TO the Oslo framework's cleverly-devised structure, however, we still have about three years before we smack up against that wall. There are many short-range issues that can be resolved, ranging from a Hebron withdrawal to the quota of Palestinian workers. Unfortunately, Israeli concerns like the PA's encroachments in east Jerusalem, extradition, or the need for Arafat to crack down on terrorism and lack of discipline in the Palestinian Police, will be given short shrift because of the government's ultimate goals.

In the short run, then, the situation can be stabilized. The politicians involved can congratulate themselves on defusing the crisis and on making progress. But it is all an illusion.

Israel is relearning the lesson of the intifada. We cannot have effective control over all the territories, keep all the settlements, and have peace as well. There is no peace with security without real Israeli concessions. But by the same token, this is the only way Israel can win Palestinian concessions and regional recognition.

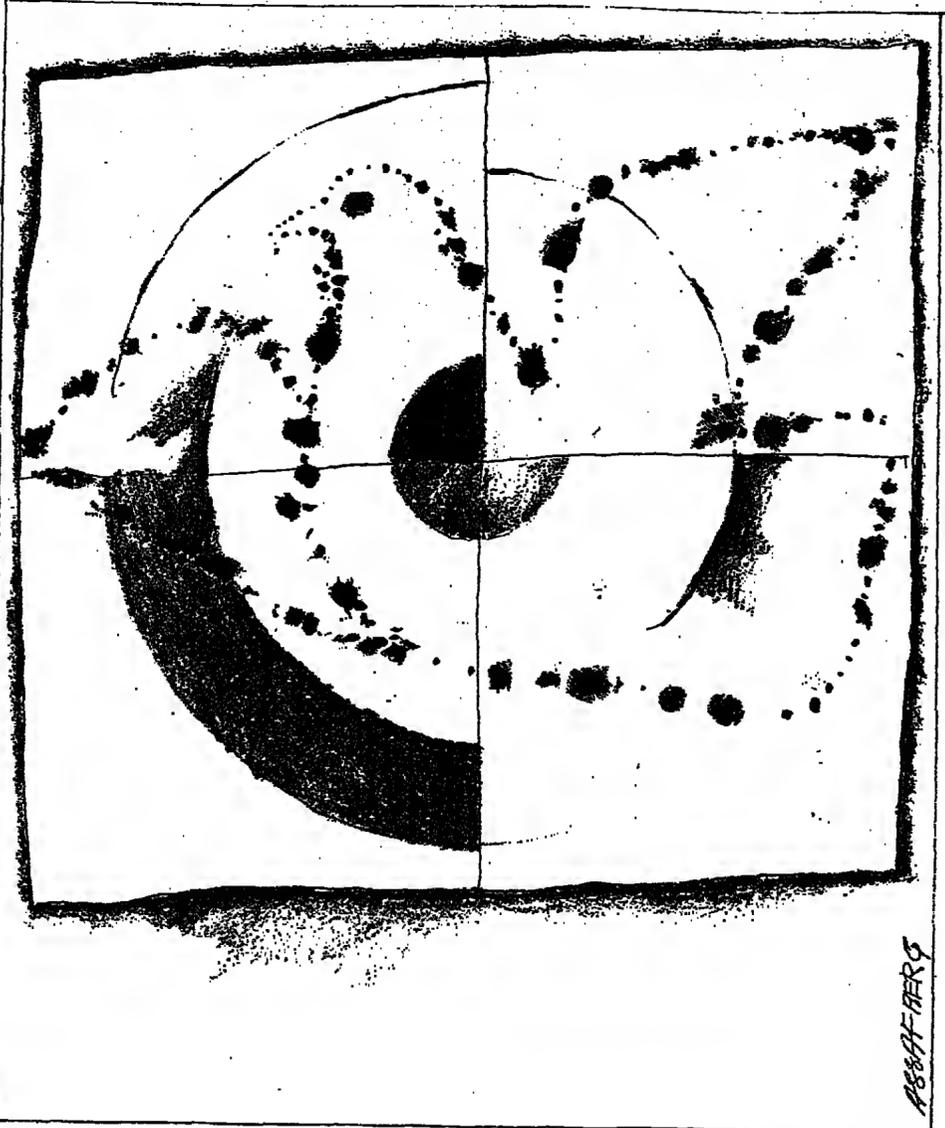
And this means two things - a Palestinian state, in exchange for incorporating as many settlements as possible into Israel; and some arrangement on east Jerusalem linking Palestinians there with that state, in exchange for retaining as much Israeli dominion as possible.

Our paradox is that Netanyahu will never accept such terms.

Since his government views this rejection not only as an ideological imperative but as a precondition for national survival, no amount of US or European pressure will move him.

Consequently, while this wave of demonstrations will fade away, there will be new, worse ones in the months to come.

The writer is senior resident scholar at the BESA Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University.



ASBAT-HERO

No reason to despair

EFRAIM INBAR

IN the aftermath of the Washington summit many people are questioning the future of the peace process. Fears abound that it might be disrupted as a result of further Palestinian violence and a warranted strong Israeli response.

In fact, ever since the establishment of the Netanyahu government and subsequent signs of Arab displeasure over its emerging policies, we have been flooded with reports about the imminence of the process's total collapse. Euphoria over the New Middle East has been replaced by the hysterics of the old Middle East.

The peace process, which constitutes a decline in the intensity of the use of military force and a growing acceptance of Israel in the region, is indeed not an irreversible historical trend and it could well break down - but it is less fragile than most pundits realize. It owes its robustness to strong underlying international, political and social forces.

The Arabs have gradually realized that Israel is an economically and militarily strong country, one that cannot be eliminated by force.

Egypt's Anwar Sadat led the way in understanding that Israeli concessions could be extracted only via Washington. The collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s, denying the Arabs a superpower umbrella for achieving their goals vis-a-vis Israel, reinforced this point; and the victory of the American-led coalition in the Gulf war led to the Madrid peace conference.

There, even Syria agreed to direct negotiations with Israel without preconditions, and the PLO accepted the Camp David incremental approach in dealing with the Palestinian problem. A "managing" process within the PLO facilitated the Oslo agreements.

MANY ARAB leaders have recognized the ingredients of the

new power configuration in the region and learned that good relations with Israel at various levels of publicity and formality serve the interests of their own countries. This recognition, stemming partly from the waning appeal of Pan-Arabism, which strengthened Arab states and legitimized the pursuit of their narrow interests,

The peace process is less fragile than most pundits realize

has also meant less preoccupation with the Palestinian issue.

The PLO alignment with Iraq during the Gulf crisis further diminished Arab willingness to offer concrete support for Palestinian aspirations.

Generally, there is growing weariness with the Arab-Israeli conflict among all protagonists. The social and economic price for continuing the protracted conflict has become costly.

Furthermore, developments in the Persian Gulf since the early 1980s indicate that emerging severe threats like Islamic fundamentalism and Iraqi expansionism have put Israel and many Arab countries on the same side of the fence.

The current secular elites share with Israel a clear interest in curbing the Islamic wave and containing the revisionist energies emanating from Teheran and Baghdad. In this endeavor Israel's clout in Washington is useful in mobilizing the US.

After extending the Palestinian Authority to almost all cities in the West Bank, Arafat has a clear stake in preserving his gains and in getting more. For that and for providing his subjects with a min-

imal standard of living Arafat needs Israel.

Why then, despite a commonality of interests, is this a tense period for Arab-Israeli relations?

The answer is, in my opinion, frustration, as Palestinian hopes for additional Israeli concessions alluded to or promised by the previous Labor-Meretz government have not been realized.

Furthermore, we are clearly witnessing attempts to test the new government's determination in pursuing policies different from its predecessor. Quasi-crises, student statements, Palestinian demonstrations and even limited violence are all part of the diplomatic game. What we are seeing now is the prelude to Arab adjustment to the strategic realities that dictate continuous negotiations with Israel.

The easy part of the peace process - withdrawal from areas with large concentrations of Palestinians - is behind us, while difficult issues like the nature of the Palestinian entity, its borders, Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights lie ahead.

Yet the strategic environment allows Israel to withstand pressure to make dangerous concessions and, if needed, to use measured force.

Israel's best strategy would probably be to minimize tensions with the US and consolidate its relations with Jordan and other Arab states, while paying due respect (but no more) to Egypt. In parallel, it should aim for an additional interim agreement with Arafat.

There are many reasons to be pessimistic about the future of the Middle East, but in the short term the regional power balance and underlying social and political forces have combined to moderate Arab-Israeli relations.

The writer is associate professor of political studies at Bar-Ilan University and director of its BESA center for strategic studies.

Peace process with a war option?

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

"The PLO commits itself to a peaceful resolution of the conflict... According to the PLO renounces... acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators."

(Yasser Arafat, letter to Yitzhak Rabin, Sept 9, 1993)

A Rubicon was crossed in the Middle East last week, and most American observers, mesmerized by an archaeological tunnel, missed it. For the first time in history, a Palestinian army, invited by Israel into its midst as part of the Oslo peace accords, turned its guns on Israel.

That army was brought in for two purposes. First, as a tangible symbol of Palestinian self-government. And second, to ensure stability and civil order within the Palestinian-ruled territories.

The last thing Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, who negotiated the 1993 Oslo accords, expected was for Yasser Arafat to turn that army on Israelis. They didn't expect it because in return for all they gave Arafat - recognition, territory, elections, that army - the one thing he offered in return was a solemn, public, written renunciation of violence (see above).

At the time the Likud opposition warned that no nation could safely invite 30,000 (now perhaps 45,000, another clear breach of the Oslo accords) armed men of its sworn enemy into its midst on a mere promise. The Likud was right.

Ever since Israel changed governments by electing Binyamin Netanyahu prime minister, PLO leaders have been openly threat-

ening a new intifada (yet another violation of Oslo) if this or that demand on Israel was not met.

So when Israel opened an archaeological pedestrian tunnel in Jerusalem - a tunnel Western news media are finally beginning to acknowledge neither undermines nor threatens nor even touches the Islamic holy sites on the Temple Mount - Arafat seized

the occasion to order his people into the streets and let his army turn its guns on Israel.

That, not the tunnel, is why we had this week's hasty White House summit. That is also why the summit could not possibly have succeeded.

"Success," as defined by the diplomats, would have meant extracting some major concession from Israel to meet Palestinian demands and thus avert new Palestinian violence. But, of course, such a concession would have legitimized and indeed rewarded the turning of the Palestinian army on Israel.

And that would have been the ultimate failure. No peace process can survive in which one side can resort to war whenever it declares itself "frustrated" or otherwise unhappy with the pace of negotiations.

Which is precisely what Arafat did last week.

For all his current "Who me?" arms-length treatment of the vio-

lence, its unleashing was a deliberate political decision taken by Arafat and his cabinet.

With his usual Beirut-style brinkmanship, Arafat used the tunnel as the pretext to display his trump card: His new army.

He was saying to Netanyahu: "If you refuse to proceed in the peace process at the pace I had come to expect from your accommodating

explicitly addressing... the Palestinians, pleadingly asked them to watch the upcoming Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and just "give us a few more days."

A few more days - until what? A few more days to check your passions, after which, if you're not satisfied by the results of these negotiations, you go out in the streets and start burning Israeli checkpoints? A few more days until, if your "frustrations" aren't alleviated, we'll understand if the Palestinian army turns on the Israelis again?

The US cannot, by default, abjectly accept the PLO premise of the legitimacy of its resort to mob violence and, finally, civil war. If that is the premise of the administration, then the peace process is in far deeper trouble than even the president imagines.

Whatever one thinks of the wisdom of Israel's opening the tunnel, one has to recognize that today the issue is a tunnel, tomorrow it will be something else. There will always be issues that divide, there will always be disputes that upset the other side.

But a peace process that is at the same time a war process is a contradiction in terms - and a prescription for continued diplomatic failure.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

Why the White House summit was doomed and why the Likud was right

labor predecessors, I don't just have to sit here and take it. I can start a war. And this time, thanks to Oslo, I can start a war that isn't just sticks and stones, but bullets."

That is why the White House summit was doomed: Arafat needed to come home with something to show for his war card. And Netanyahu needed to show that playing that card earns no reward.

One would think that banishing the war card would be a supreme objective of the US as well. Yet President Clinton's statement at the concluding news conference issued no condemnation whatever of the violence, no pledge by the parties to renounce violence as a negotiating tool.

On the contrary, The president,

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WORLD NEWS



French President Jacques Chirac holds the hands of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic (right) and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic yesterday in the gardens of the Elysee Palace. (Reuters)

Bosnia, Serbia agree on diplomatic relations

SAMIR KRILIC
PARIS

YET another stumbling point on Bosnia's path to peace was eliminated yesterday when the presidents of Bosnia and Serbia agreed to establish full diplomatic relations.

After hours of hard bargaining between two former enemies, Serbia's president Slobodan Milosevic and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia - at their first one-on-one meeting since the war in Bosnia began - left the French capital satisfied with their achievements.

"Yugoslavia and Bosnia will establish diplomatic relations on embassy level and will provide that citizens can travel on both sides without visas," Milosevic and Izetbegovic said in a statement signed by both leaders. "Yugoslavia will accept the integrity of Bosnia."

The statement did not specify when the diplomatic relations would begin. But French President Jacques Chirac, the host of the talks at the signing ceremony, said that "there will be an exchange of ambassadors as soon as possible."

With Milosevic's agreement to full relations and accepting the integrity of Bosnia, Izetbegovic got what he came for - assurances that Bosnian Serbs will not secede and join a greater Serbia.

Sounding disappointed, Bosnian Serb President Biljana Plavcic told the Bosnian Serb radio yesterday that after the Paris summit "the illusions that President Milosevic is the leader of all Serbs must stop," adding

that he never really wanted to create a pan-Serb state.

The two presidents, after four hours of talks held at the Hotel Marigny near the presidential Elysee Palace, also agreed to "refrain from political and legal acts which do not contribute to improvement of friendly relations and cooperation."

The statement appeared to eliminate one of Milosevic's major concerns: the case Bosnia has lodged against Yugoslavia at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Netherlands.

Bosnia has accused Yugoslavia of complicity in genocide. Milosevic - the Balkan powerbroker who bankrolled Bosnian Serb efforts to break up Bosnia, sparking the worst conflict in Europe since World War II - wants the case withdrawn. (AP)

Shy Polish poet wins 1996 Nobel Literature Prize

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) - Polish poet and critic Wislawa Szymborska - described as the Mozart of poetry - has won the 1996 Nobel Literature Prize, the Swedish Academy said yesterday.

The academy said that Szymborska, 73, living in Krakow, won the prestigious award for her "poetry that with ironic precision allows the historical and hincological context to come to light in fragments of human reality."

The award surprised observers, who had expected a novelist to win the \$1.12 million award, after Irish poet Seamus Heaney won last year's prize.

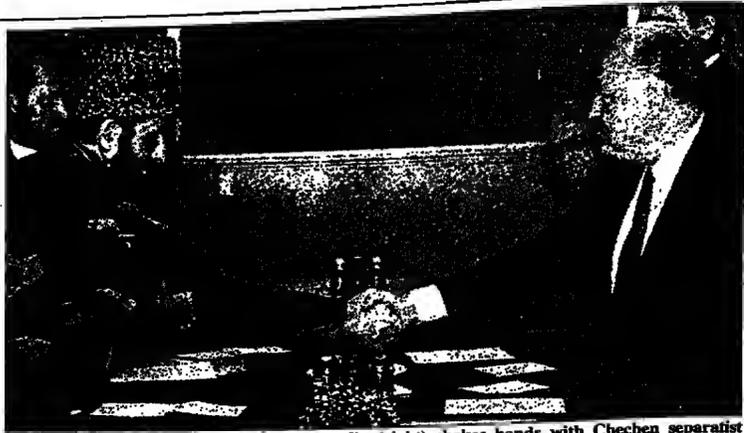
Szymborska, tracked down to a hotel for writers in the Polish mountain resort of Zakopane, said she was delighted but also apprehensive at the prospect of worldwide fame.

"This is a difficult situation. I am normally a very private person, and now I foresee some difficult moments," Szymborska, laughing with excitement, told Reuters by telephone.

The academy of Swedish literary heavyweights that awards the annual prize said her handful of slim volumes of poetry were very difficult to translate because of their stylistic variety.

Szymborska is the fifth Pole or Polish-born writer to win the literature prize since it was first awarded to Frenchman Sully Prudhomme in 1901.

Henryk Sienkiewicz won it in 1905, the sixth winner of the prize, and Wladyslaw Reymont won in 1924, when he shared the prize with George Bernard Shaw. Polish-born Jewish novelist Isaac Bashevis Singer won the prize in 1978, and Czeslaw Milosz won in 1980. Both had become American citizens.



Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin (right) shakes hands with Chechen separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev prior to their talks in Moscow yesterday. (Reuters)

Russia, Chechen rebels ink peace agreement

BRIAN KILLEN
MOSCOW

RUSSIAN Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Chechen separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev agreed yesterday to set up a new joint body to rebuild Chechnya's war-ravaged economy and organize local elections.

Chernomyrdin, who met Yandarbiyev in Moscow along with Kremlin security chief Alexander Lebed and other officials, told Itar-Tass news agency the commission would be formed within a week and comprise mostly non-politicians.

"This is a big step in the right direction," Interfax news agency quoted Chernomyrdin as saying. Commission members, he said, would be "people of authority, capable of settling issues independently."

Lebed, who earlier won a vote of confidence from President

and served notice that Russian sovereignty over the breakaway region was not open to negotiation.

"The territorial integrity of Russia... cannot be an object of barter," he told Tass.

Yeltsin, preparing for heart surgery later this year, met Lebed yesterday for the first time in nearly two months.

"My aide Alexander Ivanovich Lebed carried out my instruction and stopped the military conflict," the 65-year-old president said in a radio address. "The main thing is he succeeded in stopping the bloodshed."

Lebed's peace agreement had been denounced on Wednesday in the State Duma lower chamber of parliament as a humiliating capitulation to the separatists that could lead to the disintegration of the Russian Federation. (Reuters)

Yeltsin says he in charge

MOSCOW (Reuters) - President Boris Yeltsin sent a resounding message yesterday that he is still in charge in Russia, despite his heart problems, and rejected an apparent threat by security chief Alexander Lebed to resign.

Speaking slowly but clearly in a six-minute radio address, broadcast from the hospital where he is preparing for heart surgery, Yeltsin hit back at rivals who say the country is leaderless and want him to step down.

He also rallied behind Lebed, urging him to stay on, one day after the outspoken national security adviser was branded a traitor in parliament over the terms of a peace deal he signed to halt the conflict in Chechnya.

"I am in touch with what is going on in the country. I am helped by a strong team of professionals," said Yeltsin, who has been in Moscow's Central Clinical Hospital since September 13 and faces a bypass operation in six to 10 weeks. "I said before the elections and repeat now - don't rush to change the portraits. The country has a president and an active president at that!" he said.

Clinton slaps travel ban on Burmese leaders

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Outraged at the arrest of hundreds of democracy activists in Burma, US President Bill Clinton yesterday banned Burma's military rulers and their families from entering the United States.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry said Clinton signed a proclamation ordering the action in response to "ongoing repression" of the democracy movement headed by Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi.

The order suspended the entry into the United States of "persons formulating, implementing or benefiting from policies that are impeding the transition to democracy in Burma, and their immediate family members," McCurry said.

"They're not welcome here in the United States," said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns. The proclamation reflected strong concerns of both the Clinton administration and Congress about the

crackdown on the pro-democracy National League for Democracy (NLD) by Burma's ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

The United States is already using visa restrictions to pressure the Colombian government to combat illegal drug production. The US visa for Colombian President Ernesto Samper was revoked in July.

Washington has also imposed visa restrictions on Nigeria's military rulers and their families, similar to the Burma action, in response to what US officials say is their human rights practices and failure to move toward democracy.

McCurry said Burmese authorities had arrested or detained hundreds of democracy league members and activists nationwide, who had planned to attend a democracy conference in Rangoon last weekend.

"We deplore these actions, and call on the SLORC to release, immediately and unconditionally, all of the NLD members and other democratic activists," he said.

Polls: Clinton still out in front

NEW YORK (AP) - President Clinton continues to lead Republican opponent Bob Dole by at least 18 points, according to three new national polls.

With little more than a month to go before Election Day, other new surveys found Clinton running even with Dole in Indiana and leading substantially in New Hampshire, both traditionally Republican states. Clinton also was far ahead in mostly

Democratic Maryland. If the election were held yesterday, according to the national polls released on Wednesday, this is how the vote would go:

- Clinton and Al Gore 55 percent, Dole and Jack Kemp 34 percent, Ross Perot and Pat Choate 5 percent, in a rolling average of nightly CNN-USA Thursday-Gallup samples Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday (872 likely voters, margin of sampling error plus or

minus 3.5 percentage points).

- Gallup reported the race at 57-32-5 on Tuesday and 56-34-5 the day before that, or virtually unchanged, although Clinton clearly has opened up a larger lead over the past week.

- Clinton-Gore 53 percent, Dole-Kemp 35, Perot-Choate 5 in a September 25-October 1 national survey by ICR Survey Research Group for the PoliticsNow Web site.

Book: Diana vowed to destroy Charles; Queen leans left

LONDON (AP) - Princess Diana vowed to do her best to make sure Prince Charles never becomes king, according to a new book which also claims that Queen Elizabeth II is a bit of a leftist.

"The Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth II" by Professor Ben Pimlott quotes an unidentified friend of Charles as saying Diana told the prince: "You will never be king. I shall destroy you."

The book, which began serialization in the *Independent* ahead of its October 14 publication date, says Diana made the threat during the couple's lengthy wrangle over divorce after they separated in December 1992.

Charles, 47, and Diana, 35, divorced August 28. Pimlott reported Diana's alleged remark in the passage in the book dealing with Diana's BBC television interview last November in which she questioned Charles' suitability to become king.

Diana said in the interview: "Because I know the character. I would think that the top job, as I call it, would bring enormous limitations to him, and I don't know whether he could adapt to that."

Some newspapers have suggested Charles should step aside when his 70-year-old mother the queen dies and lets 14-year-old Prince William, the elder of his two sons, become king. But Charles is reported determined to succeed his mother, who came to the throne in 1952.

Buckingham Palace confirmed that Pimlott, like other authors of

repute, had been granted access to the royal archives. "It's not unusual," said a palace spokeswoman, speaking on condition of anonymity.

She said the palace had no comment on the book. "The book speaks for itself and we don't give our opinion on it," she said yesterday.

Pimlott teaches politics and history at London's Birkbeck College. His previous book include a study of the late Labor Party prime minister Harold Wilson.

The book says that throughout her reign, the queen has used her influence to push governments more to the left. As constitutional monarch, she is formally committed to political neutrality. But Pimlott writes: "In her own way, [she is] a bit of a leftist."

"On a whole range of issues the monarch's thinking was left-of-center. Like her eldest son [Charles], she was worried about race relations and inner-city decay in Britain and shared many of Charles' ideas about the government's duties toward less privileged people," Pimlott wrote.

The book says she personally disliked Margaret Thatcher, Britain's Conservative prime minister from 1979 to 1990. It quotes an unidentified friend of the queen as saying the monarch described the former prime minister as "unt her favorite woman."

It says the queen regarded Thatcher as uncaring toward poor people and feared that the 1984

coal miners' strike was tearing Britain's social fabric apart.

The queen also disagreed with Thatcher's opposition to sanctions against South Africa to overthrow apartheid and was angry over the Thatcher government's acquiescence in the 1983 US invasion of Grenada and in the 1986 US air attacks on Libya.

Other historians said Pimlott was misreading the queen's natural compassion for the less fortunate as a political stance.

"Like her father, King George VI, the queen has a very strong social conscience," said Sir Robert Rhodes James, an expert on the queen's father. "One should not confuse genuine feeling for the underdog, which I think is one of the most admirable features of the modern royals."

Pimlott says Thatcher thought the royals irrelevant and regarded the private weekly audiences at which she briefed the queen on political developments as "a tedious waste of time."

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On the twenty-third anniversary of the Yom Kippur War, a memorial service for **DUDI (David) SILBOWITZ** and **NEIL FREED** will be held at Kibbutz Yizra'el cemetery on Friday, October 11, 1996 at 11:30 a.m. The Families Kibbutz Yizra'el

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of **ITZHAK BIEGELEISEN** from Krakow. The funeral will take place today, Friday, October 4, 1996 (21 Tishrei 5757) at 11 a.m. at the Yarkon Cemetery. The Biegeleisen-Galai Family

We sorrowfully announce the death of our beloved **SHALOM GILAD** on September 29, 1996. Family and Friends Shiva will take place beginning October 6 at 69 Ezra Street, Mediterranean Towers Hasharon, Kfar Sava

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The Administration, Faculty and Students will observe the Shloshim of their beloved Friend & Benefactress **SANDRA PINSKY** in the presence of her Husband, Son, Family and Friends on Monday, October 7, 1996 (25 Tishrei 5757), at 8:30 p.m. in the Cymbarknot Synagogue at the College's Campus in Bayit Vegan. At which time the students of our Linda Pinsky School for Overseas Students (Hebrew) will conduct a Siyum of the Torah in her Memory

On the thirty-eighth anniversary of the death of our dear mother and grandmother **MALKA (Maria) LASZLO** widow of the late journalist Ernst Zvi Laszlo We will visit her grave at Har Hamenuhot, Jerusalem on Thursday, October 10, 1996, at 2:30 p.m. The Family

In commemoration of the first anniversary of the passing of our dearly beloved **DANNY (Daniella Ya'ari)** née Paz We will gather on Sunday, October 13, 1996, at 3:30 p.m. at the Ramat Hasharon Cemetery. The Paz Family

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NEWS IN FOCUS

Friday, October 4, 1996

It's a new game, with new rules

The IDF vows to never again be caught off guard by violence, Steve Rodan reports

HOURS before he left for Washington on Monday, Benjamin Netanyahu took a step unprecedented for him as prime minister. He summoned leading IDF and intelligence officers to assess what the Palestinians might do next in the wake of the bloody battles they waged in the territories last week.

This time, the officers, who included Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Shabak, military intelligence chief Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, and head of IDF Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, decided not to mince words.

Virtually all of them, with the exception of General Security Services chief Ami Ayalon, had been excluded from the consultations prior to the opening of the Hasmonean Tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City and they wanted to make sure their words reached the top.

Their message to Netanyahu was two-fold. First, they warned, the chance of renewed Palestinian attacks on Israeli military and civilian targets was high. One intelligence officer asserted that fighting between Palestinian and Israeli soldiers might spread from the territories into Lebanon, Jordan or even Egypt. Then came the second message, this time from a senior field officer.

He recalled the pitched battles with the Palestinians in Nabulus, how Palestinian officers shot at their Israeli partners in joint patrols, how Palestinian officers gave their guns to militants, and how Hamas activists donned police uniforms.



"If there is another flare-up in the territories, we'll cream them," the officer said.

In the wake of the Washington summit, the IDF and intelligence agencies now expect a renewed Palestinian offensive against Israel both within the country and in the territories. Palestinian Authority chief Yasser Arafat's plan to topple Netanyahu from his post or at least squeeze him, for significant concessions has failed, intelligence analysts say, and Arafat's only hope to remain in power might be to mobilize

Palestinian unrest. Many military commanders and intelligence analysts acknowledge that they were taken by surprise by last week's battles, the most feverish in the territories since the 1967 Six Day War. Just three months ago, the research division of IDF intelligence assessed that war was highly unlikely over the next year and probably beyond. As military intelligence saw it, the Arabs, including the Palestinians, felt that the Israelis were simply too strong to be confronted.

A senior intelligence officer put it this way several weeks after the election of Netanyahu: "The Arabs feel that the rules of the game have changed and now they can no longer expect a full Israeli withdrawal and a Palestinian state," the officer said. "They're not

happy about the new rules of the game and will fight it, but not by war." But as the weeks passed, the intelligence assessments grew ominous.

In Lebanon, Syria redeployed thousands of troops at the foothills of Mount Hermon. Egypt's huge-scale exercise Bader-9 was touted by Egyptian commanders as an answer to Israel's military might. In the territories, tension increased rapidly and by late summer military intelligence and the GSS expected an explosion. Unemployment continued to hover at about 50 percent in Gaza, corruption in the PA was rampant and Islamic extremism had captured the imagination of the youth.

The biggest question mark was Yasser Arafat. Western intelligence, including the Americans, asserted that Arafat was inseparably

bound to the Oslo accords. The prevailing wisdom had been that Arafat was a chronic complainer and had to be judged by his actions. And over the last six months, he had ensured a smooth relationship between Israeli and Palestinian security agencies. "We have to judge Arafat by his actions and so far they have been pretty good," an Israeli intelligence analyst said hours after the Jerusalem tunnel opening.

But other Israeli analysts were skeptical. They surmised that Arafat had concluded that the negotiations with Israel were hopelessly deadlocked. In short, Israel, under the Netanyahu government, would no longer give the Palestinians anything they regarded as significant. Arafat's back, they said, was against the wall and he was capable of anything. "We saw for a long time that all of the elements of inflammation were there," Ayalon said. "We couldn't say what would be the straw."

But Israeli intelligence detected another trend. After two years of efforts, Arafat had decided to allow Fatah to cooperate with the Palestinian organizations that rejected the peace process. Suddenly, officials said, Fatah was coordinating with Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine on how to mobilize Palestinian unrest.

Still, the question remained. How far would Arafat go in trying to whip up anti-Israeli sentiment. Twice in the space of six weeks, intelligence analysts say, Arafat attempted to organize massive demonstrations. One was last month after the demolition of an illegally-built Arab home in eastern Jerusalem. Both times, the attempts failed. Israeli officials assert that the Netanyahu government, despite its tough rhetoric, tried to give Arafat breathing space. Election pledges notwithstanding, Netanyahu did not press Arafat to close the Orient House in eastern Jerusalem. Nor, the officials say, did he demand the closure of the largest PA agency in that city - the Wakf or religious affairs ministry, which operates on the Temple Mount.

As a result, intelligence officials, particularly in the GSS, felt that Arafat was not desperate and would not press hard in opposing the Hasmonean tunnel. That assessment was shattered within hours after the tunnel was opened to the public. GSS chief Ayalon then predicted that Arafat would try to mobilize unrest.

But Ayalon, as he later acknowledged, underestimated Arafat's penchant for brinkmanship. At some point, the GSS concluded, the PA chief decided not merely to tolerate Palestinian unrest but to lead it.

"They didn't expect Arafat to play this role," says Benny Michelson, a reserve colonel who has consulted with the military on intelligence issues. "Arafat is one of the best students of Mao Tse-tung. He said if you are strong, attack. If you are weak, withdraw."

Gideon Ezra, deputy chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and former deputy chief of the GSS, agrees.

"Everybody knew that Arafat was in big trouble and he was trying to align himself with his political rivals," he says. "That meant he freed the heads of Hamas, he imprisoned those accused of corruption and he made speeches against Israel. But those speeches did not reflect the high level of PA cooperation with Israel."

"This man, for reasons known to him, decided on escalation," Ezra adds. "What we didn't assess is that because Israel had good links with the PA we thought we knew what was going on. The Palestinian sitting in the office doesn't know necessarily what is going on in the streets."

Privately, IDF officers agree. They say for at least a year, IDF intelligence was getting an increasingly blurry picture of what was taking place in the PA areas. Officers would hear of automatic fire in Palestinian cities or unusual movements of PA officers and could not obtain an explanation. For its part, the GSS, already bereft of its network of informers, was too busy trying to obtain information on Islamic terrorist plots to bother with what appeared to be military affairs.

"Our problem was that we got so used to asking PA police commanders for basic information that we often stopped doing the basic intelligence work ourselves," a military source says. "And when the Palestinians would say everything was okay, we believed them. We rarely pressed the issue."

The result was that Arafat had the advantage of taking Israel by surprise. Israeli intelligence officials say Arafat did not order his soldiers to shoot at the IDF on September 25 in Ramallah. But both Palestinian and Israeli officials agree that Arafat decided that he would rather ride the tiger of Palestinian anger than risk confronting it.

Arafat's first step was halting security and intelligence cooperation with Israel. PA security chiefs did not warn IDF commanders on September 25 of the 1,500 Palestinians being organized in Bir Zeit to mob the Israeli checkpoint at the Arak junction south of Ramallah.

The cooperation breakdown spread throughout Gaza and the West Bank as senior Palestinian police commanders refused to leave their offices to take charge of their men who joined or even led the attacks against Israeli positions. They included members of the elite Force 17 and the Palestinian General Intelligence Service led by Amin al-Hindi.

In all, IDF sources say, up to 200 Palestinian police officers participated in the battle.

IDF commanders are convinced that in the end Arafat ordered that Palestinian attacks cease only after he was threatened with an Israeli invasion. Military sources say Dayan, the head of IDF Central Command, warned his PA counterparts during the height of the battle for Joseph's Tomb in Nabulus on September 26 that he was ready to send in tanks to capture the city.

Within an hour, the IDF sources say, the Palestinians stopped (Continued on Page 10)

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A gamut of emotions, from apathy to disgust, indicates that the new situation has deeply affected us all. In this special report, the Post surveys the mood and morale of Israelis and Palestinians.

Settlers urge more force

HERB KEINON

HERE we go again" and "I told you so" were the oft-repeated reactions of settlement leaders this week to the fighting in the territories.

A number of settlement leaders have argued for years that had the government used more force against the Palestinians when the intifada broke out in 1987, the nation would have been spared seven years of violence.

Put more bluntly, their claim is that if the IDF had opened fire with live bullets and killed 1,000 people in the first days of the intifada, the Palestinians would have quickly backed down.

They are saying the same thing now.

The feeling among many of the leaders is that the tanks moved into position outside Nahlas and the Gaza Strip last Thursday night should have already been used Thursday morning.

In this view, the IDF is making the same mistakes now it made in the early days of the intifada.

"The minute they shot the brigade commander in Kfar Darom on Thursday, the IDF should have gone after them," said National Religious Party MK Zvi Hendel, formerly head of the Gush Katif Regional Council.

Hendel said that rather than exchanging sporadic gunfire with the Palestinians who rushed the settlement, the IDF should have used much more firepower at its disposal.

"We should have used our tanks, and not just talked about them," said Elkana Local Council head Nissim Slomiansky, who called the events at Joseph's Tomb, where six soldiers were

killed and the government considered abandoning the position, a disgrace.

"We have to be forceful and strong now," he said. "If not, we will face another five or six years of violence." Slomiansky said Israel would have to weather "a day and a half" of international protest, but that in the end the price would be worth the quiet.

Although Slomiansky represents the right wing of the settlement movement, his sentiments were partly echoed by those associated with the movement's moderate wing as well.

Ma'aleh Adumim Mayor Benny Kashriel said the IDF should have not hesitated to use tanks to relieve the embattled troops at Joseph's Tomb. "It is preferable to take these steps in the very beginning," he said.

Ironically, both Kashriel and Slomiansky - who fought bitterly against the former Labor government's policies - said that had Yitzhak Rabin been in power, the IDF's response would have been much more aggressive. "Rabin would have said that if they are shooting, everything has changed and the gloves are coming off," Slomiansky said.

Rabbi Eliezer Melamed - a resident of Har Bracha and director of the Rabbinical Forum in Judea, Samaria and Gaza - also agreed that more force should have been used.

As to whether he was surprised by the scale of the violence, Melamed said: "We were not surprised, we never thought the intifada was behind us. We hoped with all our strength that this would not happen, but we knew it was just a matter of time."

After 9 stunning days, people ask: At IZIK's cafe: 'Give us peace, not surrender'

TANKS were positioned around West Bank cities this week and there were even worse scenarios to be contemplated than an armed Palestinian intifada, but if the omelette was facing Amrageddon you could not tell it in Netivot.

A traffic jam, of all things, held up entry into the desert development town where a few years ago a caravan of donkey carts in low gear would not have caused a traffic jam on the main street.

An astonishing bustle now encir-

gized the town, in good part because many residents were not at their jobs during Succot.

There were signs of prosperity in new buildings, even some charm, and the weekly outdoor market, suffused with the smell of fresh greenery and well-being, was graced by Russians, Ethiopians, religious and secular, like an Independence Day tableau.

Outside IZIK's cafe, a dozen meo sat around three tables which had been pushed together. Almost all were in their 40s and looked as if

ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

they were pillars of the local community. They seemed to be sharing the bonhomie of old friends continuing a conversation begun many years ago. Although Netivot is heavily Shas, these men were all secular, mostly of Likud persuasion.

"Bibi got 97 percent of the votes here, the second highest percentage he got in the country," said one of the men. "He's still got our sup-

port." He was speaking to a visitor who had interrupted their conversation to ask whether the current situation had caused Netivot to have second thoughts about the elections.

Shifting easily from banter to the national agenda, the parliament appointed Sami Bahat, a civilian working for the army, to present the majority view. "Netanyahu has to behave strongly and continue with the policy he has been following," he said. "He shouldn't make concessions. He shouldn't close the tunnel. The Palestinian Police have to be disbanded - if no other way, then by force. We gave them weapons to fight terrorists, not shoot soldiers."

Bahat, however, was not altogether hardline. "We've got to redeploy in Hebron. There's an agreement, I believe there should be peace, but not under any conditions. For peace you sit and talk. There has to be a dialogue, not surrender."

One or two men, pronouncing themselves the left-wing opposition, dissented good-naturedly from Bahat's line. "Here's our spokesman," said one when the cafe proprietor, IZIK, emerged carrying a tray with drinks for another table. Spotting the visitor's tape recorder, IZIK set the tray down and addressed the state of the nation with the seriousness it deserved, leaving the customers to wait for their coffee.

"Netanyahu's got to close the tunnel first of all," he said. "No tunnel is worth a human life. He's not worthy of being prime minister. The opposition and his own people will bring him down."

"If he gives in to Arafat his career will be over," said one of the other men. At a nearby table sat four men in their 20s, two in need of a shave. Natives of Netivot, they identified themselves after a moment's thought as "assistants to building contractors." They too called for a "hard hand" on Netanyahu's part.

"We shouldn't redeploy in Hebron now," said Kobi Suissa. "But we have to in the end. If it wasn't for the fact that we had a signed agreement, I would say not to redeploy at all. Netanyahu will do it in the way he knows, a way that will give security to the Jews living there."

The Palestinian Police should have been armed with pistols, not rifles, they said. The best solution, they agreed, was "total separation" of Jews and Arabs. "Let's send all the Arabs from Jaffa over there," said one, "and bring all the settlers back here."

If Netivot reflects right-wing opinion in the country, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu does not have to be concerned that the current difficulties have eroded his support.

Widespread conversations in the town elicited a prevailing motif - the most dangerous thing for Israel is to show weakness over the tunnel or any other issue, since that would only incite the Arabs.

But there were also underlying texts which were no less signifi-

cant. These included a surprising sense of legal propriety - even the graying of the gray collars in Netivot spoke like a Swiss lawyer about the need to recognize international obligations.

Although a few expressed distrust of Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians, there was little demonization, as there would have been a few years ago. And there was a general sense that negotiations meant, as the Hebrew translation puts it, "give and take," that is, compromise. To a very large extent, Netivot had internalized the peace process.

At Kibbutz Nahal Oz, whose fields about the Gaza Strip, the sound of shooting last week had been heard clearly. From the kibbutz living quarters, the fringes of Gaza City are visible a kilometer away. "If an armed intifada breaks out," said kibbutz secretary Hezi Einat, "we'll have to organize ourselves to deal with it. We've already increased our guards."

Over the years, he said, the kibbutz experienced numerous ups and downs, including armed infiltrations. In peaceful times, however, Gaza residents were employed by the kibbutz, and there were extensive contacts.

"The population there is much more desperate than it was before, because their hopes were raised," said Einat. "They're living in very difficult conditions and have nothing to lose."

"If the peace process survives, we can live very nicely alongside them. If not, I have serious concerns about what's going to happen."

Kfar Sava lies at the other end of the social spectrum from Netivot. Posh shopping centers and handsome apartment houses give the city the sheen that make "just five minutes from Kfar Sava" such a popular slogan with settlements in Samaria trying to attract new people across the Green Line.

In a pet-supply shop on Weizmann Street, the city's main thoroughfare, the two owners, Meir and Arye, admitted to being on opposite sides of the political fence.

"Unlike prevailing opinion in Netivot, however, their views were sufficiently nuanced to bring them close to consensus on the current situation."

Meir, who voted for Peres, said Netanyahu had behaved cynically toward the Palestinians in avoiding implementation of the Oslo accords and that he had been foolish to open the tunnel. "But it would be a mistake for him to close it now," he said. "That would just invite more Arab pressure."

Arye, a Likud voter, said Netanyahu had not lived up to expectations. "To tell the truth, he's been pretty disappointing. He's playing the one-who's-in-the-right instead of the one-who's-wise. This is a sensitive game that requires more than just sticking by your principles and saying 'I'm right and I don't diverge from agreements.' That's too dangerous."

Meir could not resist a gentle jibe. "You should have thought of this three months ago [before the elections]."

Standing beside a row of fish bowls, Arye thought for a moment about the plight of Netanyahu, caught between his principles and reality. I don't see where we can go. Technically, we can send the tanks in and 'make order,' but we're past that stage. I don't see peace in this generation. I don't see any partner. Maybe Arafat is, but not the Palestinian people. Maybe my grandchildren will see peace."

In any case, said Arye, he would rather be in Kfar Sava selling goldfish than in Washington with Netanyahu trying to square the cir-



Sheinkin denizens play 'The Situation Blues'

AT the entrance to The Third Ear video store on Tel Aviv's Sheinkin Street are racks of rock 'n' roll magazines and alternative comics like *Smut* and *Zit*.

Behind the counter is Nadav, 22, who wears sideburns, a goatee and a gentle, intelligent expression.

Asked how he feels about "the situation," he says, "I'm one of those people who tries to cut himself off from it as much as possible."

He's been politically despondent ever since the election. "It's too bad," he says.

He doesn't talk politics with his

friends. He isn't going to any demonstrations. Asked if he is optimistic or pessimistic about how things are going to turn out, he replies, "I'm apathetic."

Sheinkin Street is the heart of Israeli bohemia, and a stronghold of the Left.

The atmosphere is lively without being aggressive; people talk a lot but don't shout on Sheinkin. The look in their eyes - those who aren't wearing sunglasses - tends to be ironic, disdainful. They're naturally against the government, completely nauseated by the way Netanyahu is dealing with the Palestinians, but these are hip peo-

LARRY DERFNER

ple. They take to the streets only to walk their dogs.

"The situation? You mean, like, the situation in the country? Like you want to interview me about the situation in the country? Okay. The situation... is bad. I feel like the peace process has brokeo down," says a genial 26-year-old woman with long, honey-colored, ringletted hair outside the Rocking Horse.

Proprietor Sara Stern, a cigarette dangling from her lips, says: "Everybody in Cafe Tamar is in an awful mood. The situation is all they talk about."

But the woman, a student in occupational therapy who doesn't want to give her name, says she isn't going to raise her voice. "I

support all democratic processes, but quietly. I don't go to demonstrations. It's not my style."

Maybe the only place on Sheinkin where people take their politics seriously is Cafe Tamar. It's a safe few blocks away from all the concentrated trendiness. Inside the cafe looks like a Labor Party museum, with a couple dozen or so Peres campaign stickers and Rabin memorial stickers on the walls and counter.

Proprietor Sara Stern, a cigarette dangling from her lips, says: "Everybody in Cafe Tamar is in an awful mood. The situation is all they talk about."

Meir, one of the regulars has just gone out to get a sign for that night's demonstration at Kikar Hamadina, which will be displayed at the entrance. Stern says she's planning to close up a half-hour early so she can attend.

But that's Cafe Tamar, the exception to the rule on Sheinkin Street. Back at the Rocking Horse, the woman with ringletted hair looks around at all the biased coffee drinkers and salad eaters and says, "You don't feel any reaction to the situation on this street. People just come here to kick back. The whole world could turn upside down and it wouldn't affect them."

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A new beginning or end of hope?

Palestinians anxious, depressed – but resolute

JON IMMANUEL

THERE was something long-brewing about last week's riots, yet they were avoidable and have changed everything, according to Dr. Mahmoud Sahwel, a Ramallah psychiatrist.

Neither poverty nor political stagnation created the spark; what happened was that "after causing general economic and political depression, the Israeli government appeared to attack the last remaining identity – the religious one," Sahwel said.

Once the brief explosion occurred, it ignited all the other frustrations.

Sahwel speaks from personal as well as professional experience. Three of his patients were among the 23 that Palestinians say were killed in Ramallah.

"People really began to get depressed after the last government attacked Lebanon and the peace process stopped," Sahwel said. "It might have happened at some point anyway. But depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms shot up when Netanyahu won the elections."

Instead of reassuring the Palestinians, the new government ignored them. When Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Tourist Minister Moshe Katzav and Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert all said the Via Dolorosa merchants were demanding the Hasmonean Tunnel exit be opened for economic reasons, they showed an abysmal contempt for Palestinian feeling as a whole. Not even the merchants bought the view that it was only a tourist site from which Jew and Arab alike would profit.

Palestinians were prepared for the worst, and thus the tunnel, the secrecy, and the digging under the Moslem Quarter at midnight after Yom Kippur were interpreted at its worst.

In Bethlehem, prosperous Christian merchants who have long wanted to be annexed to Jerusalem for economic reasons seemed finally to admit that this

would now never happen. "Nobody likes Arafat around here, but Netanyahu has handed him a victory," said a hotel owner.

Sahel Sabah, a grocer who witnessed the shooting and burning near Rachel's Tomb, said that "Arafat is a great political mind," a sentiment rarely heard before last week, but now frequently expressed.

"Amateur" and "incompetent" were used to describe Netanyahu, words that just recently described Yasser Arafat.

"[Arafat] saw the Likud commit this stupidity and he exploited it politically," Hadash MK Azmi Bshara said on *A New Evening*. The tragedy is that Arafat's political gain is the peace process's loss. The likelihood of easing the closure has receded. Ending the closure, creating employment and prosperity was the only issue on which the Likud saw a mutual benefit with the Palestinians, in which lies the whole basis of the Oslo accords.

Palestinians are no longer satisfied with implementation of existing agreements, and having secured considerable international support want to create political momentum out of last week's events, leading to final-status talks immediately.

How will it develop? Iyad Grouf, an 18-year-old student who lives close to the Ramallah checkpoint, expressed the divided feelings of many Palestinian Oslo supporters after their tempers cooled.

"The clashes were positive as a response to the occupation army but negative for the peace process."

For a week now the closure has been complete and travel between towns in the West Bank has been severely restricted to keep Palestinians away from the military checkpoints. This has emptied towns like Ramallah of life as surrounding villages are cut off. Many cannot get to their jobs inside the West Bank. Hebron has been under a 20-hour-a-day curfew. No one

works, no children go to school there.

Palestinians yesterday spoke of the Washington summit as a failure because it achieved no result on Hebron. But nobody knows what transpired between Netanyahu and Arafat in private, presumably some attempt at partnership, at working out ways to make security and peace part of the same process.

This requires what the head of the PA Israel desk, Sufian Abu

Zayde, and other Palestinians call "a change in conception" by the government, and Netanyahu must have asked Arafat for a change in his conceptions too.

Palestinians seem more resolved. They stood in all towns for five minutes of silence at noon on Wednesday to commemorate their dead in last week's "uprising" and to express solidarity with Arafat in Washington. The tension and increased frustration which will likely result

from the continuation of the current situation will almost certainly work for Arafat and against Netanyahu, since Palestinians are confident that the international community considers him to be responsible for last week's events.

PA Cabinet member Hanan Ashrawi confidently predicted such a scenario when Netanyahu won the election, but few Palestinians thought he would fall into the trap so easily.

'They hate us... I hate them'

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

DANI, a wiry, taut-faced sergeant major, stood in the circle ready to shake hands with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai looming toward his group.

His belly was full of angst; pain at the loss of his friends shot by Palestinians, embarrassed by his role as driver of the smachronic "gravel thrower" and anxious for someone to tell him what lay ahead.

He wanted to share that with the minister. Mordechai approached. In his fatherly manner, Mordechai asked how the troops were coping.

"OK, Sir," was all he could manage under the minister's shadow. "It's a different ball game now, isn't it?" Mordechai urged them not to despair and moved on.

Dani shook his curly head and said: "He's our only shield."

For soldiers and border policemen at the Tulkarm District Coordinating Office, the bloody clashes with their Palestinian counterparts have ironically delivered them from a messy world of ambivalence to the black-and-white reality of love and hate.

This week, after seeing two of their officers shot down, it's easy for them to hate. And that visceral feeling feels natural.

"They shot Shimon [Dayan] in the face. He fell right here," said Cpl. Dimitri as he peered out toward the Arab town. "They hate us... I hate them."

As Superintendent Shanan Fadel, the base operations officer, sees it, he'll never turn his back on the Palestinians again, even if the joint patrols resume.

"We'll do what we are told," he said. "But there's no way we will return to what we had. You can't tell if a Palestinian holding a gun is going to shoot you or not. We've got no more faith in them. All the efforts we made to create a relationship are lost, gone. I don't think there's anything they can do to bring it back."

suddenly shattered within the space of the 10-minute gunfight.

"I can't even begin to predict how we are going to move forward from here," said the officer, who coordinates the joint patrols. "We were actually surprised by how well they were working out, and now this."

Private Even leaned against a telephone pole along the old railway line that runs parallel to the Green Line. "I was here last Thursday when they were firing at us. Live bullets were hitting the ramparts, and Netanya is just a dozen kilometers behind me," said Even, whose artillery company was holding the line along the old 1967 border. "I've got two and a half years to go. I don't know if I can stand it."

The question of stamina in the face of battle looms great in a nation that has been told by some leaders that peace is on the way and the threats are over, and then shown that 15 soldiers can be killed and dozens wounded along a front everyone thought was history.

Eyal Kremer, a reserve paratrooper battalion commander, said the scope of the clashes last week shook up the national consciousness, at least somewhat, and he predicted fewer people would try to evade reserve duty if called to serve in the territories.

"What happened last week was a war," said Kremer, lawyer and member of the newly formed forum of reserve brigade and battalion commanders who want to fight the drop in motivation. "It wasn't an intifada. But it also wasn't a battle for our existence."

"If it ignites again there won't be any problem of reservists turning up," says Kremer, who is responsible for hundreds of men in his battalion. "But if it turns out that we are taking [political] steps backwards, we will have a problem."

But Kremer believes the damage to the confidence in Palestinian



Likud rallies r

WHAT sort of verdict the Likud will eventually pass on the bloody events between Yom Kippur and Succot depends essentially on what their ultimate outcome will be. For the time being there are only conditional, temporary opinions. The stock-taking is still in progress and will not be over till the episode itself and its ramifications are over.

In other words, the story will be judged on whether it has or does not have a happy ending – from the Likud's point of view. As of now the ending is not clear and hence final positions have not yet been formulated.

When approaching the episode from the vantage point of the Likud's mainstream (as distinct from fringe figures like Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo and MK Meir Sheerit) it is important to keep several pivotal party tenets and perceptions in mind:

- Jerusalem is Israel's indivisible and eternal capital and no one will dictate to Israel if it may or may not open an exit to a street.

- To cave in on this would invite Arafat's diktats in Jaffa, Acre and Ramle as well. It would be a clear relinquishing of Israeli sovereignty.

- There will be no cause for lament if the Oslo Accords' demise is hastened, as they are a disastrous legacy which the previous Labor government had forced

on its successor.

- It is inevitable that the dang self-destruct mechanisms grafted into the Oslo Accords sooner or later manifest some point of contention Jerusalem, the right of return of Palestinian refugees, or any of these. This being so, it is better for Israel to blow itself up sooner than Israel will have made even more concessions and rendered its more vulnerable.

- Tragic as the loss of life has fact that Arafat's own "police fire on the Israeli soldiers" or they went on joint patrols, or and on medics who came to the victims, had vindicated the Likud positions that Arafat is fanatic Islamic rejectionists liable for terrorism.

- Labor is being shown as reckless when it handed Arafat thousands of firearms which aimed at Israelis whenever the man is displeased about some

- With all the above in mind, will take heart if at the end of Jerusalem's sovereignty will be compromised; if implemented the Oslo agreement will not be up and will perhaps even be the flare-up will reduce or Israeli concessions (on He

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Who's saying what about Israel at the UN

The United Nations raked Israel over the coals over the Hasmonian Tunnel issue, reports Marilyn Henry from New York

LAST week, 50 nations lined up at the UN Security Council for a dramatic debate on the violence in the territories after Israel opened the entrance to the Hasmonian tunnel. The council voted 14-0 for a resolution that indirectly calls on Israel to close the tunnel, implying that its opening had "negative implications for the Middle East peace process." The US abstained from the vote.

Although the debate was prompted by the disturbances, it escalated into a litany of grievances against Israel, which struck many observers as reminiscent of Israel's pariah days at the UN. Here is a sampling of what the world was saying in the Security Council.

SAUDI ARABIA: Israel is using the issue of security as a pretext for postponing the need to fulfill its obligations and meet the deadlines set by its agreements with the Palestinians.

KUWAIT: Israel has a plan to Judaize Jerusalem, to change its legal status and to suppress its Islamic physical features and cultural heritage.

EGYPT: Israel's policy of oppression, demolition and blockade will yield a harvest of frustration and blood. Israel is stalling on its commitments and has returned to its policies of aggression against civilians. Egypt had aimed to "close the file" on the Arab-Israeli conflict, but Israel's lack of commitment to peace threatened to set back the entire process, returning the region to a cycle of violence and

forcing Arab governments to reconsider their role in the peace process.

KUWAIT: Since the new Israeli government came to power, there has been a retreat from previous commitments in the peace process.

YEMEN: Israel has clearly and flagrantly violated the peace agreements.

UNITED KINGDOM: The fires of frustration had been smoldering because of the lack of progress on Hebron, the move to develop settlements, and the continuation of the closure, which Palestinians saw as collective punishment. The decision to open the tunnel added the fuel that sparked the conflagration.

FRANCE: Measures to improve the daily lives of Palestinians are absolutely necessary, while the move to open the tunnel was provocative.

INDONESIA: Israel clearly has demonstrated bad faith. Its confiscation of Arab lands and establishment of settlements, its failure to lift the closure of Palestinian territories, refusal to withdraw from Hebron, attempts to change the demographic and geographic conditions, failure to implement the provisions of the 1993 and subsequent agreements, have again turned the region into a flash point of crisis.

ITALY: Israel needs to take action to demonstrate it remains committed to peace.

CHINA: The acts of the Israeli

forces were not conducive to peace in the region.

BOTSWANA: Israel should honor its obligations under the agreements signed with the Palestinian Authority, in particular concerning the Israeli withdrawal from Hebron.

ALGERIA: Israel's policy is to flout every agreement mandated by the international community. Given Israel's scorning of its commitments, one could only deduce that its aim was a rejection of Arab rights and establishment of its security at the expense of Arab non-security.

TUNISIA: Israel's opening the tunnel was a provocation against not only the Palestinians, but against the whole Arab world. With the new government of Israel, the world is witnessing a return to brute force.

SYRIA: Israel is now living in unparalleled arrogance and

intransigence, backed by a huge arsenal of advanced weaponry, and aims to bury the peace process by any means possible. The Palestinians will accept nothing less than restoring all their territories to the 1967 lines. And Syria will not accept anything less than a withdrawal to the Golan lines of 4 June 1967.

MOROCCO: When the new Israeli government came to power, all hopes for the peace process came to an end. This was the first time a democratically elected government refused to honor commitments made by a preceding government.

OMAN: The holy city of Jerusalem was becoming a scene of bloodshed, martyrdom and bereavement, and the bereaved were the victims of Israel's reckless policy of arrogance and provocation.

BAHRAIN: The international and European community should stop Israel's attempts to Judaize the Islamic nature of Jerusalem.

IRAN: The world witnessed the desecration of Islamic holy places and the indiscriminate massacre of those whose only crime was religious devotion. Nothing, even the distorted logic of Zionists and their supporters, could justify that inhuman atrocity.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES: Israel had a plan of fait accompli - which included policies of closure, demolition, imprisonment and torture. Israel must be pressured to renounce its regressive policy and to recognize the true aspirations of the Palestinian people for a Palestinian state.

MAURITANIA: Peace could not exist as long as Israel did not withdraw from the Golan Heights and Lebanon.

IRELAND (on behalf of the European Union): The lack of progress in the peace process was linked to recent decisions of the Israeli authorities, such as the lifting of the freeze on settlements and the failure to redeploy Israeli troops from Hebron.

CUBA: Israel has continued to ignore its obligations to abide by Security Council resolutions, and acts with impunity.



NEW GAME

(Continued from Page 7) fighting, and PA commanders agreed to an evacuation of the Israeli soldiers still trapped in the tomb. Today, military sources say, Dayan has emerged as the most headline regional commander toward the Palestinians. To some of his colleagues, it is an about-face when as head of IDF Planning, Dayan drafted many of the security arrangements and participated in most of the high-level discussions with the Palestinians that resulted in Oslo II.

But a year ago, as soon as Dayan became head of central command, the sources say, the major-general prepared for the worst. Based on his experience with the Palestinians and the traps he detected in Oslo II, Dayan drafted Operation Thornfields, which presented a series of IDF responses to Palestinian violence.

The first step would be to impose closure of the territories, which would stop the flow of people and goods to and from PA-controlled areas.

If the violence continued, Dayan's plan called for using tanks and troops to surround Palestinian-controlled cities in the West Bank. If that failed to stop Palestinian attacks, the IDF would send in helicopters and tanks to storm PA areas.

Dayan has been using Operation Thornfields in trying to contain the simmering Palestinian unrest. "We recognize the new situation," he says. "We have a policy of using force in every situation that is required."

In the wake of last week's battles, Dayan appears to be the most resistant in renewing military cooperation with the Palestinians. He has rejected the resumption of joint patrols and instead wants the PA to prosecute and at least dismiss those Palestinian officers who were found to have shot at Israelis. IDF sources say they have photos of scores of PA officers participating in last week's attacks. Instead, the IDF is bracing itself for another round of fighting.

Tanks have been deployed outside most Palestinian cities. Units serving near Palestinian positions have been supplied with anti-tank weapons to increase their firepower. Guidelines for opening fire have been significantly relaxed.

Moreover, the army has banned traffic from entering or leaving the areas, partly because that would involve liaison with the Palestinian police, who are no longer trusted to serve with Israeli soldiers or police. "The entire subject of cooperation is based on mutual trust," Maj-Gen. Oren Shabor, government coordinator of the territories, says.

"There's a deep crisis of trust with them [the Palestinians]," says Public Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, two of whose border police officers were killed in liaison compounds that also housed PA police. "I don't trust that there's somebody on the other side who is interested in restraining the situation."

But the biggest concern on the minds of security officials is Arafat's next move. Will he allow further unrest? Will he order his security agencies to impart valuable information of planned terrorist attacks to Israel? Virtually nobody in the defense community is optimistic. "The intelligence cooperation has broken down," Ezra, the former GSS deputy chief says. "It could be that we will go back to before the terrorist outrages in March when we didn't have real PA cooperation."

As a result, the new credo in the IDF and the GSS is self-reliance. Intelligence is being beefed up and troops have been reinforced. This time, IDF commanders say, they intend to respond with a massive display of firepower that will quickly crush Palestinian resistance.

The new thinking, however, means changes in the government relationship with the IDF. Today, the IDF preparations for a long standoff in the territories, together with confronting the new Syrian troop presence in Mount Hermon will require a lot more money.

Security officials are also calling for a review of the Oslo accords. Ezra, for example, says many of the clauses of Oslo are simply no longer feasible. "We need a completely new approach to the Hebron redeployment because our previous plans were based on cooperation and trust with the Palestinians," a senior government aide says. "The minor changes that were presented to us by the Defense Ministry will no longer do."

In the short term, intelligence analysts say, the IDF faces another explosion in the territories, as Arafat roams the Arab world looking for support and Islamic extremists threaten to stage attacks. Palestinian security officials say Arafat has ordered his officers to quell violence but Israeli analysts are skeptical whether the PA chief will actually confront Hamas.

A more likely scenario, the analysts say, is a resumption of terrorist attacks in Israel. This could be the result of Fatah-Hamas cooperation in which neither claims responsibility. But even if Arafat and Netanyahu manage to avoid an imminent explosion, most intelligence analysts are convinced that it will come. If during the Rabin and Peres administrations the analysts felt that the Palestinians might be prepared to modify their demands on such seemingly intractable issues as Jerusalem, Jewish settlements and refugees, the Israeli assessment today is that the Palestinians will not tolerate any significant compromises.

"In that case, it may be better that the explosion come now," a senior government aide says, "before the Palestinians have their own state and army and before the Arabs feel that it is worth sending their armies to help them."

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Israel's minor misstep doesn't justify Palestinians' gross violations of Oslo

GUEST COLUMNIST DANIEL LESHEM

THE government's decision to open a new exit to the Western Wall Tunnel may well have been wrong in its timing, but these types of judgment errors are fairly common on the international scene, especially where highly contentious and sensitive issues such as sovereignty are concerned.

The British government's decision in recent months to permit Protestant Orange Order marchers in Northern Ireland to cross into Catholic areas, which has sparked off a wave of violence of unusual proportions, may well have been similarly wrong.

China, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines and other East Asian countries have all shown complete disregard for the claims and national sentiments of one another in their bitter disputes concerning sovereignty over the disputed islands.

One may also remember that Greece and Turkey recently almost went to war over an islet barely the size of a flagpole.

The French government's recent decision to conduct a series of nuclear tests in the Pacific despite international protest, condemnation and pressure denies them any right to criticize the Israeli government for its controversial decision.

The French did indeed finally agree to end nuclear tests at its two nuclear test sites in the Pacific and even join the nuclear

test-ban treaty. But it did so only after it had carried out a series of tests which outraged all Pacific nations, including most Tahitians, who staged infada-style riots against France, the local colonial power.

Double and treble standards are typical of French foreign policy, which is also notoriously undependable.

Despite its well-known and publicized Arab-oriented foreign policy, France - which used to be the second largest arms supplier of Iraq - could never be depended upon by Gulf states for its contribution to their defense and protection against the Iraqi threat in times of crisis.

For all their criticism of recent US policy toward Iraq, Kuwait and other GCC members know well enough that if it had not been for the US, Iraq would have long repeated its invasion of Kuwait.

Nor does any other UN or Security Council member state have the moral right to criticize or lecture Israel regarding its unilateral decisions.

Whatever mistakes the Israeli government may have committed, they are certainly no match and no justification whatsoever for the outrageous violations of the Oslo accord by the

Palestinian Authority, which either instructed or did not prevent its police force from firing on IDF soldiers and border policemen (including soldiers taking part in the joint patrols), using automatic rifles given to them by Israel.

The government's mistakes are no justification and no match either for the Palestinian Authority's terrible mistake in using its radio and television to incite Palestinians to violence.

Nor is there any acceptable justification for the recently intensified anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish violence breeding propaganda campaigns mounted by Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian Authority. They can't have both a peace process and a war process going on at one and the same time.

Palestinian Authority members said the riots and shooting erupted as a result of the Palestinians losing patience with the policy of the present Israeli government.

However, they seem to have forgotten that during the tenure of the previous government there were a few, similar incidents, although on a much smaller scale, such as the storming of the Erez checkpoint by an angry and incited mob - which also set fire to a large number of buses await-

ing Palestinian workers. Those riots were similarly supported by a few Palestinian policemen who opened fire and wounded IDF soldiers trying to disperse the rioters.

In another incident last year, several Palestinian policemen reportedly opened fire on IDF soldiers pursuing terrorists who had earlier attacked an IDF patrol moving along the Gaza strip border fence.

IDF soldiers returned fire and two Palestinian policemen were killed (as a result of the joint investigation which followed, the Palestinians reportedly moved some of their more problematic policemen to other posts away from the contact line).

The Palestinian Authority also seems to have forgotten that it did very little to fight terrorism until after the latest series of suicide bombing attacks earlier this year. If Israel has not lost patience with them, despite all the terrible violence we have had to cope with, then they certainly have no justification whatsoever to lose patience with Israel.

Furthermore, all parties to any peace process should first and foremost realize that patience with one another and the renunciation of violence and incitement to violence is the No. 1 requirement for the peace process to have a fair chance of success. There is no other way out of the vicious circle of violence and counter-violence.

Dry Bones



More than just a family reunion

SHABBAT SHALOM SHLOMO RISKIN

ONE of the most popular festivals is Simhat Torah, which marks the conclusion of our yearly reading of the Five Books of Moses. Strangely enough, our Sages linked this celebration with Shmini Atzeret, the eighth day from the beginning of Succot. Let's reveal the hidden origins of Simhat Torah by posing a question: What is the 612th commandment?

A hint - it concerns Succot. Although most people are familiar with the basic commandments of Succot, not everyone knows that the festival of booths also plays host to the commandment of Hak'heil, the gathering of the nation once every seven years to attend a reading of Deuteronomy.

A month ago, in Parashat Vayelech, we read: "At the end of every seven years, in the time of the year of release, in the feast of booths, when all of Israel appears before the Lord your God in the place which He shall choose, you shall read this Torah before all Israel in their hearing. Assemble the people, the men and the women and the little ones, and your stranger that is within your gates, that they may hear and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this Torah." (Deut. 31:12)

The obvious reason why the commandment fell into disuse is because it's linked to the Holy Temple and especially to the King of Israel. Nonetheless, hak'heil could be re-introduced if we rely on the opinion of Rav Avraham Yitzhak Kook that the leader of the State of Israel (prime minister or president) can function on such an occasion as the equivalent of King (Mishpat Kohan, responsa 243).

I believe a case can be made showing how Simhat Torah is connected to hak'heil, especially since both hak'heil and atzeret mean "public gathering."

First, several observations about the nature of the hak'heil commandment. The text does not specify the day of hak'heil. Second, although women are free from positive commandments determined by time, here we have a positive commandment linked to a specific time period, and yet women are explicitly commanded to participate.

Third, children have an important role in hak'heil. Although too

young to understand, they are included with the men, women, and strangers living among the Israelites. Of the four categories listed, only the children are given their own verse: "And the children, who do not know, may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God..." (Deut. 31:13)

Most startling of all is the Maimonides explanation of the commandment: "And the converts who are not conversant must prepare their hearts to understand and their ears to comprehend - with fear and awe and joy within their trembling - as on the day in which the Torah was given at Sinai... This [commandment] was established by the Torah in order to strengthen the true religion and to enable us to see ourselves as if we were not merely being commanded [concerning] it, but as if we were actually hearing it from the mouth of the Great One." (Maimonides, Laws of Hagiga 3:6)

Now let's examine Simhat Torah for a moment. What purpose does it serve? Don't we already have a day which recalls the giving of the Torah on Sinai - Shavuot? Why another day to recall this Sinaitic Revelation?

But perhaps this is the point: the role in hak'heil. Although too

young to understand, they are included with the men, women, and strangers living among the Israelites. Of the four categories listed, only the children are given their own verse: "And the children, who do not know, may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God..." (Deut. 31:13)

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All a-Gog with recent events

VIEW FROM NOV MOSHE KOHN

I will bring you against My land, so the nations may know Me, when, through you, O Gog, I manifest My holiness before their very eyes.

Ezekiel 38:16

Such shall be the punishment of Egypt and of any nation that does not come up [to Jerusalem] to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles.

Zechariah 14:19

THE WAR to end all wars is to be launched against Eretz Yisrael by "Gog of the land of Magog, chief prince of Meshech and Tuval" as foretold in Ezekiel 38 and 39.

Certainly so-called kabbalistic circles were predicting that the Gog/Magog War would break out right after Succot. They cited alleged prognostications by autistic children whom they believe Heaven to have endowed with the power of prophecy.

We don't know what or who Magog, Meshech, Tuval and Gog are; we only know that Gog and his allies are to come down on Eretz Yisrael from the north.

God will then destroy the invaders, and "I will restore the fortunes of Jacob, and have mercy on the whole House of Israel... and I will not hide My face from them any more."

The New Testament also mentions the Gog/Magog War, in Revelations 20, as the final battle between the rulers of Earth led by Satan and the forces of God. In that version, this war may also

be what is known in Christian tradition as the Battle of Armageddon, a place mentioned in Revelation 16:16.

I DON'T know about autism and prophecy, or about Gog/Magog, or about Armageddon.

I do know that the evidence seems conclusive that our neighboring Arab states and our PLO "peace partner" are itching for the "mother of all wars" in which they will once and for all remove the Jewish sovereign presence from "Holy Palestine" and establish the everlasting dominion of Islamic Arabiy in the land.

With the possible exception of a single tiny handful of intellectuals and journalists and, briefly, of King Hussein and the late Anwar Sadat, no Arab leader, no Arab spokesperson, no Arab intellectual or mediator has indicated publicly that he or she has a long-range vision of peace with Israel or considers such a vision legitimate.

Leading the howling pack for some time now have been - oo, oo, oo Muammar Gaddafi's Libyans, nor Hafez Assad's Syrians, nor Saddam Hussein's Iraqis.

Among the chief inciters and spreaders of anti-Israel, antisemitic slanders are nearly the entire political, intellectual and professional elite of the first

country to sign, 18 years ago, a peace treaty with Israel: Egypt.

This campaign of vilification is well reflected in Cairo's English-language *Al-Ahram Weekly* (AAHW), which also provides summaries of editorial opinions of the entire Egyptian press. The campaign has sunk to a new low since, Binyamin Netanyahu took office.

Egyptian mediators, like nearly the whole world's including most of Israel's, never fail to prefix "Netanyahu" with "right-wing/hard-line."

But the campaign was slimy enough when the left-wing, limp-line Rabin and Peres regimes were co-opting our affairs, though the latter were rarely if ever adjectivized as "left-wing/limp-line."

From a recent issue of AHS and statements by PLO spokesmen we learn that "Palestinians" no longer call the Temple Mount compound "Haram al-Sharif (The Noble Sanctuary)", but "Al-Aksa Mosque."

The PLO's "religious affairs minister," Hassan Tabboub, referred to the newly opened Hasmonean tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City as "ruming from the western wall of Aksa Mosque."

No longer is it the Western Wall of the Jews, the remains of the retaining wall of the Temple Mount built by Herod. Interviewed by Dr. Aaron

Lerner, associate director of IMRA/Independent Media Review and Analysis, Tabboub also spoke of the PLO guards stationed on the Temple Mount because the Jews "try every time to attack the Aksa area."

Of course, neither Tabboub nor anyone else living in this world has any evidence of such attempts.

AHS published a cock-and-bull story by one Lobna Gomma reporting that "Israel's Supreme Military Court [recently] issued a ruling allowing an ultra-Orthodox Jewish group to pray in Al-Aksa Mosque."

The only relevant court decision was the High Court of Justice's rejection of a petition to permit Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount last Tisha Be'av (July 25).

Otherwise, Jews identifying themselves as such are occasionally permitted to enter the Mount in twos or threes, with a police anti-prayer escort.

Faisal Hussein, PLO "Jerusalem affairs minister," continues the Hussein clan tradition of inciting blood libels. AHS quotes him as saying that "the only way for Israel to take over Al-Aksa is over our dead bodies."

When and where, except in our enemies' sick imagination and catalog of lies, has official "Israel" (as distinguished from some private, Hamas-style Jewish apocalypticists) even remotely hinted at an intention to "take over Al-Aksa"?

As it starts to get colder outside, we need to warm the hearts of our brethren

WE can already feel the change in the weather; warm days and chilly evenings. While you're getting out the sweaters, jackets and raincoats, give a thought to the elderly who will have to brave the cold winds of winter with threadbare blankets and without heating.

Our countdown to Hanukkah has started with only nine weeks to go. Following our usual tradition, we will be handing out toys and games on this joyous occasion.

We are also receiving many requests to supply watches for bar/bat mitzvas, sports equipment, clothing, dental and medical care, as well as requests for school books, which are still arriving daily.

Donations to the Welcome Home Fund are trickling in slowly. We would like to be able to help all those youngsters who are turning to us for help with their university fees.

We're counting on you, our readers, to generously take up the slack and provide us with the means to do so.

Please remember, that there is fulfillment in giving, no matter the size of your contribution. Don't wait - send your checks today to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000.

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NIS 100 Lilly Kovac, Ramat Gan. In memory of our dear father and grandfather, Harry Litt, who passed away on September 4, 1996 - Trudy, Doug, Ami, Abraham and Eitan Greener, J'm. Anon., J'm. In memory of my beloved grandmother, Mrs. K. Saunders, born Birmingham, England, 1875, died Cardiff, Wales, Yom Kippur, 1955 in her 81st year - Anthony Saunders, Kfar Binn.

Gershon Deutch, Ramat Chan. In memory of my parents, Mr. and Mrs. B. Levy, Potchefstroom, S.A. my parents-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. A. Danilowitz, Krugersdorp, S.A., and my husband, Isaac Baar, Krugersdorp - Bella Danilowitz. In honor of Alice Krasnostein's 70th birthday - Doris Haimson, Ashkelon. Yehudit Appleton, J'm.

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Nanny Clinton and the naughty boys

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu may bounce back and present the Washington summit as a success story, but his red, angry face at the wrap-up press conference said it all.

Stripped of all the image-makers' diplomatic veneer, Netanyahu sat sulking and glowering between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat as President Bill Clinton summed up the conference by himself for fear the two 'bad boys' behind him might put their foot in it. Never had the Israeli public seen him like this on the world's cameras — even Arafat's scowling countenance paled by comparison.

The two, flanked by a smirking King Hussein ("I'm a good boy today"), looked for all the world like two naughty schoolboys just out of a roasting in the irate headmaster's office. Local politicians said that if Clinton had ordered them to stand in the corner with their backs to the classroom of bemused reporters, they couldn't have presented a more shameful spectacle.

American analysts said it was unprecedented that national leaders at such an important summit not only did not make a closing statement, but in fact were not allowed to speak. That's a measure of just how naughty they had been.

DOWNHILL PLUNGE

It's difficult to be an Israeli abroad these recent days. In cool, autumnal, rational Europe, the outbreak of shooting in the streets of Israel was not easy to explain. Even more... astounding was Israel's sudden plunge from the peace process and the company of enlightened Western democracies

(back) to the Third World. As television screens in Paris and beyond filled with the bloody scenes which Europeans had thought consigned to the bad old days, and newspaper headlines screamed worldwide condemnation, accidental Israeli tourists felt they had turned overnight from citizens of a respectable state into a pariah among the nations. French intellectuals scratched their heads — in exasperation over their cafe creme and *Le Monde* and concluded "it's all an Israeli manipulation to stop the peace process."

Back in Israel politicians from both left and right wing were just as much at a loss to make sense of the Hasmonaean Tunnel opening which triggered off the shooting. While Netanyahu bailed the tunnel as somehow pertaining to "the rock of our existence," cabinet spokesmen said it was an insignificant aqueduct whose opening merely spared tired tourists another few minutes of walking.

Others asserted that Netanyahu was simply carrying out the diktat of his extreme right-wing and haredi campaign contributors. Other liberals have simply given up rationalizing the present government, like one weary veteran foreign correspondent, who asked with a tinge of cynicism: "What? Are you still looking for logic in anything Bibi does?"

Either way, events found Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat summoned thousands of miles to an emergency summit in Washington to try to solve something a short chat at the Erez checkpoint should have sorted out a week earlier.

THE WEEK THAT WAS

MICHAEL YUDELMAN



Shomron: Almost got left out of the Washington summit.

(TPA/Gideon Markovitz)

FLYING HIGH

An advanced system of satellite telephones enabled correspondents on the prime minister's plane to transfer interviews with Netanyahu and his blaming the opposition for all that happened back to their editorial offices in Tel Aviv. What a pity no such hi-tech communications were found to inform the security and defense authorities (over mind the Palestinians) of the plans to open the Hasmonaean Tunnel. "I heard of the tunnel's opening only five minutes before it actually happened, and immediately notified

the IDF command," Defence Minister Yitzhak Mordechai admitted this week.

More importantly, one phone call to Arafat before the tunnel opening, rather than after, could have prevented the whole catastrophe and saved all those lives and injuries, as well as saving Israeli and American taxpayers millions of dollars. Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav, one of the few in the know about the tunnel opening, said that had he suspected the repercussions, he would have sought to postpone the opening.

GENERAL SHAMBLES

After the prime minister and his entourage took off from Ben-Gurion Airport, someone suddenly noticed that nobody had invited along General Dan Shomron, the head of the steering committee for negotiating with the Palestinians and presumably a key expert on the negotiating with Palestinians. Shomron forgotten; how embarrassing.

Yedior Aharonot's Shimoo

Shiffer, who reported the incident, said Netanyahu's aides placed an urgent telephone call to an astonished Shomron from the airplane, asking him to fly to Washington at once. Shomron agreed and arrived in the American capital just after preliminary consultations between Netanyahu and Foreign Minister David Levy.

Shiffer noted another little mishap. Only when Netanyahu landed near Washington did Ambassador Eliahu Ben-Elissar and his staff who came to meet him find out that Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky was in the party as well. Nobody

had notified the embassy which had to prevail hastily on the manager of the Mayflower Hotel for an extra room for the minister.

One person who was not accidentally left behind was the ubiquitous Sara Netanyahu. The purpose of her traveling to Washington on a hastily arranged emergency summit, to which no other leader brought his spouse, remains a state secret. This was hardly a venue for jolly photo opportunities.

One newspaper quoted a source from the prime minister's office saying it was Netanyahu who had insisted his wife tag along to look after his meals and clothes. Which left people wondering if a wifeless prime minister of Israel would be left to starve in the capital of the Western world. Or maybe his shirts wouldn't have been pressed just right and a wrinkled collar might have dealt the final blow to the peace process.

GRAPEVINE

GREER FAY CASHMAN

Politicians wondered how King Hussein, David Levy or even Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Mussa, and Clinton himself, managed to survive without the "little women and good wives" attending to their plates and wardrobes. As for Arafat, it didn't matter. Apparently, it's OK to look scruffy and unshaven in a military uniform and keffiyeh.

TUNNEL YES, HEBRON NO

Kabbalist rabbi Yitzhak Kadour, he of the election amulets and blessings showered on the Netanyahu camp, was quoted in the press as saying this week that those who opened the tunnel in Jerusalem are "foolies who want to turn the whole world against us."

The 103-year-old revered rebbe said: "You can't trust the goyim. That's why we must divide Hebron between Jews and Arabs and implement the Oslo agreements." An embarrassed silence enveloped the prime minister's people for three days.

Finally, on Tuesday, director general of the Prime Minister's Office Avigdor Lieberman marched into Kadour's sanctuary and emerged with the miraculous announcement that the ancient sage had told him the tunnel should remain open and had expressed his support for Netanyahu.

Whew! What a relief. Kadour's relatives, who attended the meeting with Lieberman, protested that the rabbi's comments had been distorted. But nobody took any notice of them.



Pnina Rosenbloom helps her husband Moshe Haim give blood at Magen David Adom's Tel Aviv branch.

(Michael Feizlin)

No coverage by the uncovered

GRAPEVINE

GREER FAY CASHMAN

MEDIA organizations may have to adjust their budgets to include a special dress allowance for female reporters covering religious events. When Avigdor Lieberman, the director general of the Prime Minister's Office, this week visited venerable kabbalist Yitzhak Kadour to receive a blessing for the efforts in Washington of Binyamin Netanyahu, the sage's aides put out the word to the media that female reporters who wanted to cover the event had to be modestly attired. Israel Radio's Mira Amsalem and Yael Ben-Yehuda, who happened to be on duty at the time, did not meet the halachic dress-code criteria and were therefore unable to attend.

His monologue, well-peppered with Jewish references and black humor, began with the night that he left Switzerland and the care of the non-Jewish couple who took him in because his mother was ill. Referring to "Jewish Alzheimers" Szeps defined it as "you forget everything except the guilt." Singing in the appreciative audience were his former Hahonim group leader in Sydney Selma Beris and her husband building contractor Jackie, architect Normie Goldberg and former Hahonim emissary to Australia Assaf Agin who specially came all the way from Kibbutz Deganya Bet to renew acquaintance with Szeps who was in Israel for the first time.

REUNION

(Continued from Page 11)

Torah was given on Shavuot, and at that time the Jews declared "we shall do and we shall obey." But that is not sufficient. In every generation, in every single year, there must be a re-acceptance, an activity which reiterates the fact that we likewise accept for ourselves the Divine gift. What better way to demonstrate our worthiness for the Divine bounty of rain and crops than by renewing our dedication to Torah? And precisely in the midst of our fear and trembling in the wake of the unknown character of the year to come we rejoice before the Torah scrolls, dance with them, and bring them out into the streets, clasping them to our bosoms even as we lift them towards the heavens.

There is a famous Midrash which maintains that the Almighty refused to give His Torah to Israel until the Jews provided a guarantee that they would remain faithful to it. First they suggested the Patriarchs and Matriarchs, and then moved on to the Prophets — both groups being rejected by God because they were too few and far between. "Our children, then, will be our guarantors," the nation declared. This was accepted by God.

It is no accident that the major custom of Simhat Torah is for every adult to carry a Torah scroll in a dancing circuit around the bima, and for adults as well as children to be called up to the Torah. The blessing which is made confirms our thanksgiving to the Almighty, who "has chosen us from all other nations and has given us His Torah."

In effect, every Jew reaffirms his dedication to Torah and his commitment to its teachings.

In order to secure our future, that commitment must be made by men, women and children in joy. *Shabbat Shalom and Hag Sameah*



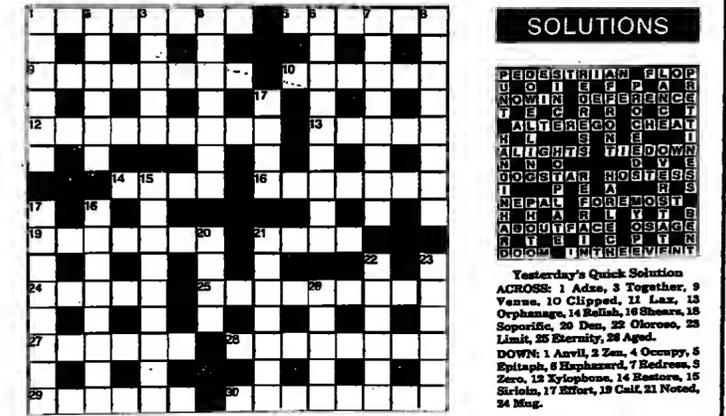
CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Generous applause only a few get (8)
- 5 Father exercised, but took a breather (6)
- 9 Most enthusiastic about a cow diet's composition (5)
- 10 A scholar is a good looker (6)
- 12 Say Rosemary never leaves off (9)
- 13 Follow directions—and then use incorrectly (5)
- 14 Trouble in Corfu's soon dealt with (4)
- 16 A scene about bottle-opener being missing (7)
- 19 Obdurate mother interrupting a social worker (7)
- 21 Many a road may be used for playing games (4)
- 24 She was not in good health on retirement (5)
- 25 American military man mixing general a drink (5,3)
- 27 Twin Greek characters, affectively stylish (6)
- 28 An outstanding feature of the seaside (8)
- 29 A deity in state temple (6)
- 30 Looking round the civic centre feeling famished (8)

DOWN

- 1 Set to become ruthless (6)
- 2 A quarter scoffed, being tidy (6)
- 3 Projector with an arm-rest (5)
- 4 Streams forms for schoolteachers (7)
- 6 A German article about an outfit's director (9)
- 7 Inform on other criminals repeatedly in prison (4,4)
- 8 Ooe's maybe served outside, so cut off (8)
- 11 Some mean narrow-minded girl (4)
- 15 Confidant a Parisian remains inside abed (9)
- 17 It may sound useful wear, but it's a hindrance (8)
- 18 Gathering round about a friend (8)
- 20 Draws boats (4)
- 21 Study opening for dedicated women (7)
- 22 An expedition afar is to be organized (6)
- 23 The experienced sailor goes aloft without publicity (3-3)
- 26 Bush senior (5)



QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Splitting (7)
- 5 French fries (5)
- 8 Rub out (5)
- 9 Piggy (7)
- 10 Garrulous (9)
- 12 Enquire (3)
- 13 Sponger (5)
- 14 Simpler (6)
- 17 Dry (3)
- 18 Consciousness (9)
- 20 Wearing (7)
- 21 Deduce (5)
- 23 Unpleasant (5)
- 24 Place of entertainment (7)

DOWN

- 1 Speedy (5)
- 2 Ocean (3)
- 3 Repeat (7)
- 4 Serviette (6)
- 5 Bend (5)
- 6 Copy (9)
- 7 Orator (7)
- 11 Ridiculous (9)
- 13 Tank (7)
- 15 Stupid (7)
- 16 Put in (6)
- 18 Gleaming (5)
- 19 Weird (5)
- 22 Well (3)

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THE dream was terrific. Nine brand new industrial parks in the West Bank and Gaza, each spanning some 500 dunams, financed by the US, Japan, the European Union, and the World Bank at an estimated total cost of \$920 million, which would revolutionize the Palestinian Authority's employment scene and ultimately remove a major cause of political instability. Had Palestinian unemployment stood at 6 percent, like Israel's, it would have been difficult, technically, to mobilize thousands of young adults for mass demonstrations and riots like last week's. Moreover, working people, particularly the upwardly mobile among them, have a stake in stability, and therefore tend to shun politics, let alone street fighting. But Palestinian unemployment stands at 50%. On the face of it, this is due to the ongoing closures imposed on the territories after repeated stabbings, shootings, and bus-bombings by people who entered under the guise of laborers. However, even had there been no closures, that would not have affected - if anything, it might have perpetuated - the more fundamental deformities of the Palestinian labor market: a large unskilled working class, a minuscule middle class, and a dependency on Israeli employers. Yet while a sober, post-intifada Israel realized the futility of its labor relationship with the Palestinians, and helped devise a plan which would possibly expand

El-Rov may put Jerusalem hotel construction on hold due to tourism crisis

EL-ROV (Israel) will reconsider its plans to continue construction of a hotel in Jerusalem's Mamilla section if there is no change in the tourism slump, Alfred Akrov, the company's general manager and major shareholder, said yesterday. The Mamilla plan, a cluster of business, commercial, and residential projects aimed at connecting the Old City's Jaffa Gate with downtown, includes some of the capital's most prestigious real-estate projects. One hotel, the Dan Pearl, and one project, David's Village, have already been completed, while another hotel, the Jerusalem Hilton, is at an advanced stage of construction. The project's main parking lot has also been completed, while work on its main attraction - a pedestrian mall - has yet to commence. The El-Rov group has already started development of the eight-story, 300-room, five-star hotel, at a total investment of \$35 million. The hotel, which will cover 20,000 sq.m., is scheduled to open in three years and has received a 25 percent funding grant. "I might not build the hotel because of the tourism situation. We will have to see what happens," said Akrov. According to news reports, there was a 32% drop in the number of tourists to Jerusalem during the first nine months of the year, compared with the corresponding period last year. Earlier this week, Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav decided to delay a \$6 million public relations campaign in response to the recent tension. Meanwhile, El-Rov is in negotiations with the Hilton chain for the hotel's management. A contract is expected to be signed in a few months. Up until three months ago, El-Rov was in advanced negotiations with the Swiss hotel chain Movenpick, but the contract was not signed because of differences of opinion, said Akrov.

GALIT LIPKIS BECK



Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina views readymade garments at the opening of the country's annual textiles export fair in Dhaka. The three-day fair draws importers from around the world. Garment exports account for over 60 percent, or \$2.5 billion, of the country's annual export earnings.

Gaon seeks CEOs' meeting with Arafat

JERUSALEM POST STAFF and news agencies

A GROUP of leading Israeli businessmen are seeking to arrange a meeting with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat to discuss ways to advance economic ties. Benjamin Gaon, president and chief executive of Koor Industries, is spearheading the effort to strengthen economic ties. He telephoned Arafat's office yesterday to urge him to arrange the meeting in the next two weeks. The group of businessmen were to have met Arafat in Gaza two weeks ago, but the meeting was cancelled at the last minute due to the arrival of US peace coordinator Dennis Ross. No new date had been set. Gaon's spokesman said the businessmen would like to hold the meeting within two weeks, but declined to give further details. Gaon has been an outspoken advocate of the peace process and openly supported Labor Party Chairman Shimon Peres's candidacy prior to the recent elections. He said yesterday the peace process was irreversible and that in light of the recent events, dialogue between the Israeli and Palestinian business communities had to start as soon as possible. The Palestinian Ministry of Economy and Trade said on Wednesday that Palestinian losses had risen from \$6 million daily before last week's violence to about \$10m, because of the travel restrictions imposed on PA-controlled territory after last week's clashes. The group of businessmen includes various industrialists as well as the CEOs of the country's five leading banks.

AT&T and Finland's Nokia sign breakthrough \$240m. deal

HELSINKI (Reuters) - Finnish mobile phone company's Nokia Oy's order for handsets worth \$240 million from leading US telecommunications operator AT&T is a major breakthrough, analysts said yesterday. AT&T will open the biggest digital network in the US and the deal is an important reference for Nokia, analysts said. "It will be a good reference for Nokia and it may lead to more orders from other operators," Merita Bank analyst Marjo Larjo said. "The deal is a major breakthrough for Nokia," said Postipankki analyst Ilkka Salonen. The three-year contract with AT&T's wireless services (AWS) is the biggest single deal for Nokia's mobile phones arm in the US, and analysts said its value alone made it significant for Nokia, and important enough to boost Nokia shares. Already strong before the announcement on the back of gains in the US technology sector, Nokia shares extended gains after the contract was announced, hitting a nine-month high at 213.00 marka, up 11 percent. "The value of this one order alone, approximately one billion marka, is significant for mobile phones' net sales," Merita's Larjo said.

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Geotek & Hughes enter into agreement: Geotek Communications, Inc. (Nasdaq: GOK) has signed a broad agreement with Hughes Network Systems, Inc. for the manufacture, sale and financing of digital radio communication systems based on Geotek's FHMA technology. Geotek is an international, wireless communications company focusing on integrated voice and data solutions for mobile business users. Israel Venture Association sponsors high-tech seminars: The Israel Venture Association will sponsor two meetings on Israeli high-tech. Lip-Bu Tan, a partner in Walden Israel, will discuss "Venture Capital & Investments in South East Asia and How They Differ from Israel and the US," October 29. Holiday Inn Hotel, Tel Aviv. Giza Group will sponsor a seminar entitled "Israeli High-Tech Companies: Criteria for Recruiting European and American Venture Capital Investments," November 7, Tel Aviv Sheraton Hotel. JOLT acquires US company: Jerusalem-based JOLT Ltd., a supplier of wireless optical communications, has acquired Laser Communications Inc. of Lancaster, Pennsylvania and formed a new company known as AirOptics. AirOptics is currently marketing products for Fast Ethernet and ATM-155 Mbps wireless connectivity, which offer faster transmission of voice and data in wireless communications than is currently available with microwave and spread spectrum technologies, the company said. Myriad Ultrasound Systems receives sales approval in Japan: Myriad Ultrasound Systems, a Rehovot-based, privately owned developer of ultrasound systems for diagnosis of bone disorders, recently announced that it has received sales and marketing approval from the Japanese Ministry of Health for its SoundScan 2000. The system is designed for hospitals and health clinics and does not require a radiation technician. Scitex tops awards: Scitex Corporation Ltd. (Nasdaq: SCIXF), one of Israel's largest high-tech companies, recently announced that it won more awards and achieved more nominations than any other company at the Pre-press '96 Conference and Technology Showcase in London. The Herzliya-based manufacturer of visual information communication products has recently undergone many top-level management changes and is expected to announce a restructuring program within the next few months, company sources said. Securit SAFE line to be distributed in Japan: The Japanese data communications company Prompt Corporation has agreed to distribute in Japan Securit's SAFE line of data security products. The Haifa-based company develops PC and Internet security products based on encryption techniques known as the IDEA algorithms. Triangle Technologies, a local business development firm that specializes in the Japanese market, initiated the partnership. VocalTec introduces voice for E-mail: VocalTec Ltd. (Nasdaq: VOCLF), an Internet phone company, recently introduced its Internet Voice Mail 3.0 integrated voice messaging software. The new technology adds voice mail capabilities to existing E-mail software, allowing anyone with an E-mail account to send voice messages to anyone, anywhere in the world over the Internet, the company said. For more information contact VocalTec's website at www.vocaltec.com.

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ART GUIDE

HAIFA

Inquiry faults brigade commander in Joseph's Tomb rescue

AN IDF inquiry into the costly attempt to reach the besieged soldiers defending Joseph's Tomb, in which six soldiers were killed and seven wounded last Thursday, blamed the district brigade commander and his officers for not taking the proper safety precautions.

The inquiry, conducted by Central Command, found that the soldiers behaved bravely. But the decision to break through to the tomb in the heart of Palestinian-held Nablus, in open armored personnel carriers instead of closed ones, exposed them to deadly fire.

According to the inquiry, the IDF had received warnings the day before that unrest could be expected, and the guard at the tomb was doubled with a contingent of Border Police. Jewish worshippers were also banned from the site.

The army said it had considered evacuating the tomb, but would continue to hold on to the site despite the cost of defending it.

The report was prepared by OC Judea and Samaria Maj.-Gen. Gabi Ofir, and did not find any deficiencies at the senior command level. It stated clearly that the fact that a mob of Palestinians was able to penetrate the shrine, damage prayer books, and cause wanton destruction of the defenses was a failure of the force on the scene.

According to the report, Joseph's Tomb was assaulted by a mob of Palestinians at about 9:20 a.m. last Thursday. The soldiers succeeded in repelling them. An hour later, a more vicious mob tried to overrun the site, hurling stones and bottles and setting a vehicle alight.

At this stage, a contingent of Border Police arrived to reinforce the soldiers. Soon after, the soldiers were fired upon and two were wounded. Another IDF unit arrived, but at 12:20, two APCs, under the command of Col. T. the district brigade commander, attempted to reach the tomb and came under heavy gunfire. All six of the soldiers killed were from this force, the report said.

"There was found to be a weakness in the command capability of managing the complicated battle and in preparing the auxiliary force," the report said.

The inquiry did not elaborate, but security sources said Col. T made a mistake by instructing the APCs to move with their back steel doors open, thus exposing the soldiers inside to gunfire.

A copy of the inquiry is to be given to Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak in the coming days, the army said.

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

'Washington Post': Summit a disaster

THE White House summit was a "disaster," *The Washington Post* declared yesterday in what appeared to be the harshest editorial view of the major American general-circulation newspapers. With no agreement except to open "continuous" working-level talks, "the Mideast 'peace process' is floating into a perilous realm of stagnation and uncertainty," the *Washington Post* said.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat must exert special effort to "keep his police from trampling on his solemn promise to renounce armed struggle," the paper said, while "it will also take hard American probing of Jerusalem's intentions to determine whether [Prime Minister Binyamin] Netanyahu is committed to the American goal of a peace whose security would be guaranteed by the United States."

The *New York Times* said there has not been a summit meeting as volatile and unrehearsed as this week's Middle East talks in Washington "since Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev briefly ventured into the uncharted territory of nuclear disarmament 10 years ago in Iceland."

The *Times* said that while it is unenvying to see statecraft conducted so close to the edge, the outcome was respectable, even though none of the material differences between Israel and the PA were resolved.

The important matter was that both sides agreed to conduct sustained talks and recommitted themselves to settling their differences nonviolently.

"The Middle East crisis is not over. But for the moment, at least, it is not getting worse," the *Times* said.

SLA attacked by mortar, machine guns

FIGHTING continued in the security zone yesterday with a mortar and machine gun attack on a South Lebanese Army position in the western sector.

There were no casualties in the long-range attack on the SLA post, near the Hamra crossing point on the northern perimeter of the zone. Amal claimed responsibility. IDF and SLA gunners returned fire.

Amal also claimed responsibility for a similar attack against another SLA position near Tibnit village, in the eastern sector of the zone, late on Wednesday night. There were no casualties in that incident either, and IDF and SLA gunners returned fire.

Hizbullah and its rival Amal have intensified their activities against the IDF and SLA recently, with an average of two incidents a day compared with only 14 altogether during Lebanon's election season from the middle of August to the second week of September.

Syrian media calls for Arabs to end talks with Israel

DAMASCUS (AP) - Syria's media yesterday called the latest Mideast summit a failure, urged Arabs to end peace talks with Israel and warned that more violence was likely.

"The region is now liable for dangerous probabilities and more bloody confrontations," the state-run newspaper *Tishrin* warned in an editorial. "Israel shoulders full responsibility for burying the peace process and for pushing the region into new catastrophes."

The Syrian government has not commented on the talks in Washington between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. But the state-controlled newspapers consistently reflect government thinking.

The *Al-Baath* newspaper, mouthpiece of the ruling Baath Party, called on the Arab states that have established ties with Israel to cut them immediately, and urged a freeze in peace negotiations.

Al-Baath urged the Arab states "not to waste time in the maze of waiting" for a change in Netanyahu's positions.

"Netanyahu has never been a man of peace," *Tishrin* said. "He is planning to explode the peace process and to bury it entirely."

US President Clinton acknowledged Wednesday that Israeli and Palestinian leaders had been unable to settle their differences during two days of talks in Washington.

But Clinton said Israel and the Palestinian Authority would step up peace talks beginning Sunday, with a US mediator on hand to assist.

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US angry over Israel's failure to make a gesture at talks

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu held fast against appeals to make a gesture to the Palestinians at the end of the summit, but it has come at the price of angering top US and Jordanian officials, sources said yesterday.

King Hussein reportedly got angry at Netanyahu for refusing to make any concessions, the sources said. This is significant given the fact that Netanyahu has always taken pride in his friendship with Hussein.

Moreover, President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher were incredulous that Netanyahu refused to yield on something they considered minor, namely a willingness to set a date for the start of final

status talks.

Sources said the US presented Netanyahu with six different proposals, and that a favorable response to any one of them would have turned the summit into a success. But Netanyahu refused to budge.

The Netanyahu approach comes against the backdrop of greater problems with key leaders.

In July, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was the first Arab leader to say he was "relaxed" after hearing Netanyahu's views. Mubarak believed that he had won a promise from the prime minister to redeploy in Hebron. When this did not occur, Mubarak acted like

DAVID MAKOVSKY
WASHINGTON

a man scorned.

His level of trust was so low that he took the unprecedented step of rejecting Clinton's summit invitation, since he did not want to attend anything in which the result would not be not pre-ordained - unless it would be held in Cairo, where as host, he would have had greater leverage. Some even say that Mubarak wanted Israel to pull back in Hebron before he even sat in the same room as Netanyahu, terms upon which even Arafat did not insist.

Needless to say, Mubarak was not too happy that his offer to hold the summit in Cairo was brushed aside, but then again, Netanyahu

does not consider Egypt an honest broker.

An Arab official here said that during one of the four-way meetings, King Hussein pointedly told Netanyahu that he ought to consider carefully why Mubarak refused to attend - the implication being that he might do the same in the future.

Hussein also told Netanyahu that his concept of security preceding peace is flawed, and, further, that he must act on his pledges to implement the Oslo accords.

"It was a very strong message... I don't think [the Jordanians] minced any words," the official said.

Hillel Kutler contributed to this report.

Pirates hire Lamont as manager

PITTSBURGH (Reuter) - Gene Lamont was named to succeed his close friend, Jim Leyland, as manager of the Pittsburgh Pirates yesterday.

Lamont, 49, was promoted from third base coach. He signed for two years at more than \$300,000 per season, with a team option for a third campaign, according to broadcast reports.

He became the 34th manager in the club's 110-year history, and just the third in 20 years.

Lamont said he would not have taken the Pittsburgh job if Leyland had been fired. But when Leyland left as manager at the end of the season to seek a job with a contender, Lamont put his name in the running to be the replacement.

Lamont managed the Chicago White Sox from

1992 until he was fired in midseason 1995. He rejoined the Pirates as third base coach this season, a position he held in Pittsburgh from 1986 until being named White Sox manager.

With the White Sox, Lamont compiled a 258-210 (.551) record, including a 94-68 campaign in 1993 that gave Chicago the American League West title.

He also had Chicago in first place in 1994 when the strike hit but was fired the following season after the White Sox lost 20 of 31 games to open the season.

As a player, Lamont was drafted by Detroit in 1965 with the 13th overall selection, a round ahead of another catcher, Hall-of-Famer Johnny Bench. Lamont went on to hit .233 in 87 major-league games.

Toto Cup action resumes as national team readies for Russia

THE national soccer squad continued its preparations for the World Cup qualifier against Russia with almost all its components in place after the arrival of Ronnie Rosenthal on Wednesday night.

The only remaining absentee now is Haim Revivo who will arrive from Spain today and join the squad for training on Sunday, following a weekend break from preparations. Revivo did not take part in Celta Vigo's 3-1 win over Oviedo on Wednesday night.

Due to the national team's and the under-21 side's fixtures against Russia next week, there is no league action in the upper divisions and all 16 National League clubs will field their strongest possible sides - excluding the players on international duty - for the

ORI LEWIS

fourth round of the Toto Cup action.

The most intriguing encounter will undoubtedly take place in Kfar Sava tomorrow, where Hapoel Taiba hosts National League leaders Betar Jerusalem. The first encounter between the two sides at Teddy Stadium in August ended in a goalless draw, a result which was seen at the time by Taiba as a great moral victory over a side which was expected to win easily.

There was some crowd trouble at that match, although the clash between the two sides on the pitch was played in an exemplary manner. Taiba has since won twice in the National League and its confi-

dence will be bolstered and the incentive to beat Betar in a home match will be even greater.

Following the crowd trouble in the first encounter police presence is sure to be noticeable, while the latest political events are also certain to have an effect on the crowd.

There are six matches in the group stage of the competition. Three of the four groups have a clear leader. In Group A, leaders Maccabi Tel Aviv on nine points are away to Zefirim Holon; in Group B Hapoel Haifa hosts Hapoel Petah Tikva; top team in group C, Bnei Yehuda plays host to Maccabi Herzliya; and in the tightest group, D, leaders Hapoel Haifa and Hapoel Kfar Sava take on Hapoel Petah Tikva and Hapoel Jerusalem respectively.

IDF

considered are allowing more Palestinian laborers into Israel, starting first with the Gaza Strip; allowing the Palestinians to export guava, which is now ripe; and expanding the areas of movement around Palestinian towns, security sources said.

Israel also wants to reopen the Karni crossing into the Gaza Strip, which would greatly enhance the exchange of goods, but has demanded that Palestinian policemen there be disarmed, due to intelligence information that some may belong to Hamas and other opposition groups. The Palestinians have so far refused.

There was quiet in the territories yesterday, despite the sense of failure in Washington. In Ramallah, dozens of people gathered at the PA office and were

urged to fax Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu to demand he ease the closure. In Kalkilya, the IDF pulled its tanks behind ridges and out of Palestinian view, much to the residents' delight.

There were, however, isolated demonstrations. In Sa'ir, near Hebron, hundreds of protesters burned home-made US flags and a poster of Netanyahu, following the funeral of an 11-year-old boy killed in a clash between stone-throwers and soldiers.

Two Moloivo cocktails were buried at a bus near Karnei Sbornon, but there were no injuries or damage. Earlier, a fire-bomb was thrown at a car near Marda in the Nablus area, but it too caused no injuries or damage.

Meanwhile, the IDF said that shots were fired last night at a car leaving Psagot, near Ramallah. No one was injured in the incident, although two bullet holes were found in the car.

Winning cards and numbers

IN yesterday's daily Chance drawing, the winning cards were the jack of spades, the jack of hearts, the king of diamonds, and the nine of clubs.

In yesterday's Paysis Hazak drawing, ticket number 750039 won NIS 1 million, while ticket 796564 was good for a car.

Tickets numbered 551054, 168734, 725729, 390353, 632703, 502968, 830079, and 548275 were good for NIS 5,000, while tickets ending in 08124, 32147, 60555, 34751, 14229, 42309, 86233, 28803, 27474, 48510, 41266, 66725, 01366, 44846, 36243, 56021, 40654, 04917, and 29946 all were good for NIS 1,000.

Those holding tickets ending in 469, 970, 195, and 696 won NIS 100, in 56, 81, 37, or 69 NIS 30, in 88 and 61 NIS 20 and in 7 or 4 NIS 10.

(Continued from Page 1)

takes is the action of a lone gunman to risk igniting the situation again. For this reason, top army and security service officials decided to maintain troop levels over the weekend.

Mordechai spoke of a "fluid and delicate" situation.

Participating in the meeting were Mordechai, Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, his deputy Maj.-Gen. Matan Vilni, OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, OC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Shlomo Yanai, General Security Service head Ami Ayalon, coordinator of government activities in the territories Maj.-Gen. Oren Shahor, and Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz.

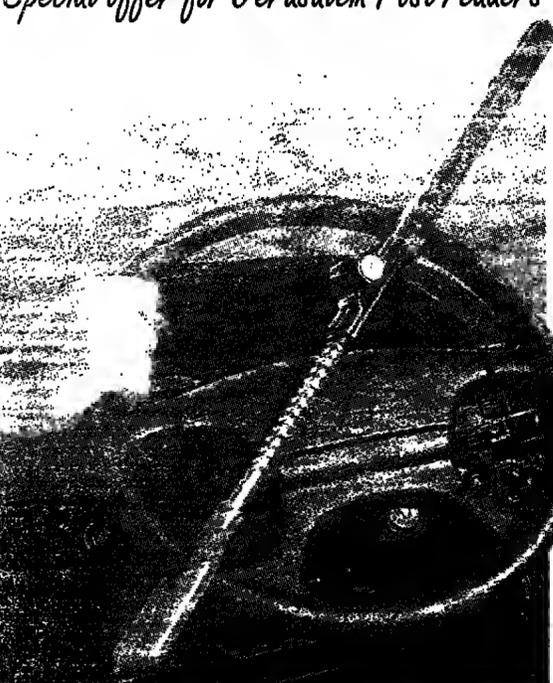
On Saturday night, the forum is expected to meet again to reassess the situation and decide on a further lifting of restrictions.

Some of the moves being con-

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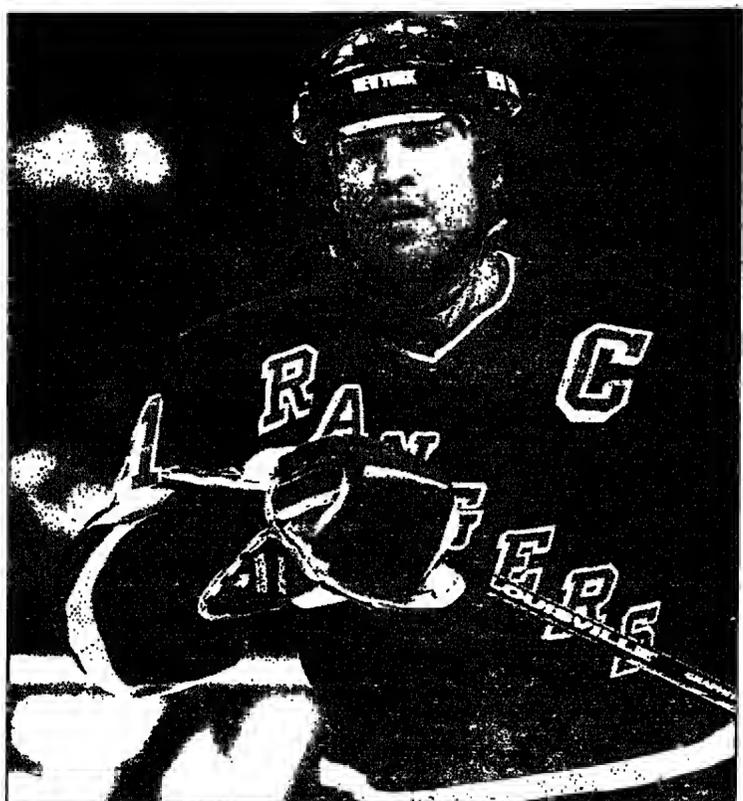
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I'M BACK - Mark Messier returns to play another season. But pushing 36, can the superstar maintain his magic?

NHL opens 80th season with something old, something new

NEW YORK (AP) - Mario Lemieux is looking for a Stanley Cup hat trick in Pittsburgh. Wayne Gretzky and Mark Messier are hoping to rekindle their magic in New York. And Paul Coffey is trying to make a Stanley Cup appear in Detroit before he disappears.

They're all National Hockey League superstars who have made the far turn in their careers. Unless one of them pulls a Gordic Howe and plays until he's 52, it's likely that these great players are seeing their final years in professional hockey.

During the 1996-1997 season, Gretzky, Messier and Coffey will all turn 36 - practically ancient by the standards of today's youth-driven game. Lemieux will be just 31 this season, but health problems may force last season's league MVP out of the game before his time.

At any rate, many individual eras appear to be fast coming to a close as the NHL opens its 80th season today.

Gretzky and Messier aren't the only big names casing into their mid-30s this season. There's Boston's Ray Bourque, who will turn 36; Anaheim's Jari Kurri, 37; Phoenix's Mike Gartner, 37; Tampa Bay's Dino Ciccarelli, 37; Edmonton's Kevin Lowe, 38; Philadelphia's Dale Hawerchuk, 34; and St. Louis's Grant Fuhr, 34.

Meanwhile, new eras are beginning in Phoenix, where the NHL will debut in the desert, and in Philadelphia, Buffalo and Tampa Bay, where fancy new arenas are being unveiled.

When they are reunited on the ice of Madison Square Garden, Gretzky and Messier will try to rekindle their electric days of the 1980s in Edmonton when they helped the Oilers win four Stanley Cups. Messier won a fifth there after Gretzky was traded to Los Angeles, then a sixth in New York when he led the Rangers to their first NHL championship in 34 years in 1994.

Gretzky signed a two-year contract with the Rangers as a free agent over the summer but wouldn't mind playing longer than that if possible.

"Mark and I are the same age," Gretzky said. "I know he wants to play three or four more years. And if Mark has the ability to do that, I feel the same way."

Lemieux's hockey timetable could be shorter than

that. The Penguins captain, who has been troubled by various health problems throughout his career, is returning for at least one more season for one last shot at his third Cup.

"This is all about the Stanley Cup," said Lemieux, who has overcome brutal back problems and Hodgkin's disease to make an amazing series of comebacks. "At this stage in my career, the Cup is the biggest motivation."

The same could be said for Coffey, who is still considered one of the best skaters in the NHL after 16 years in the league. Coffey, of course, was a member of those great Edmonton teams with Gretzky and Messier, and also played with Lemieux on some pretty good teams in Pittsburgh.

Coffey has won four Cups, but none so far in Detroit. The Red Wings haven't won the league championship since 1955 - the longest current drought in the NHL.

Lowe, Kurri and Fuhr are other former Oilers stars who are still hanging in there. They have 47 NHL seasons and 16 Cups among them.

That's more than can be said for Bourque, Gartner, Ciccarelli and Hawerchuk. They have scored a total of 2,240 goals in the regular season and playoffs, but haven't gotten to hoist the Cup.

Another sign of the times: older players hoping to find a new life with new teams. Along with Gretzky's move, Lowe re-signed with the Oilers and Kurri with the Mighty Ducks. And the San Jose Sharks picked up the veteran Nicklas Lidstrom in hopes of infusing their team with veteran leadership.

Phoenix's new team, formerly the Winnipeg Jets, hopes to get the same impact from Gartner, whom they traded for on draft day. The Coyotes are the second Canadian team in two years to move to the US for financial reasons. Last year, the Quebec Nordiques moved to Denver and won the Stanley Cup as the Colorado Avalanche.

The recent movements have given the NHL a decidedly American look, with 20 of the league's 26 teams in the US. As recently as the 1990-91 season, 14 teams were based south of the border and seven in Canada.

Yanks
Braves lead

South
crushes
four-nation

هلدا من الالاص

Yanks tie series with Rangers

Braves lead 1-0 as Smoltz holds Dodgers to one run

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Derek Jeter scammed home on a 12th-inning throwing error by Texas third baseman Dean Palmer as the New York Yankees rallied for a come-from-behind 5-4 victory over the Rangers that knotted the American League divisional playoff series at one game each on Wednesday.

With Jeter on second, Charlie Hayes laid down a perfect bunt and Palmer fielded the ball. But his throw skipped past Mark McLemore at first, allowing Jeter to score and setting off a Yankee Stadium celebration.

"We came in today against the wall. We got behind early, we fought back," said Hayes, whose sacrifice fly in the seventh accounted for the third New York run.

"I was just doing my job and fortunately for me he threw the ball away."

Said Yankee leftfielder Tim Lincecum, whose walk moved Jeter into scoring position: "We'll take it any way we can get it."

Palmer, a hero for Texas in Game One with a home run and a big defensive play, was the goat on Wednesday.

"Now we have to go home and get it done," said Palmer, whose team hosts the next three games in the best-of-five series. "We didn't play like the team that set the record for errorless games."

Texas grabbed a 4-1 lead in the third inning on a pair of Juan Gonzalez homers - a solo shot in the second and a two-run home run in the third.

Gonzalez, who also homered in Tuesday's playoff opener, is 23-for-45 (.511) with eight homers and 23 RBI against New York this season.

But the Rangers were unable to get another run across the plate over the next nine innings, producing just five hits after the third, thanks to clutch pitching from the Yankee bullpen.

Brian Boehringer, the seventh Yankee pitcher, retired Palmer on a flyball to right-center field with the bases loaded in the top of the 12th to notch the win.

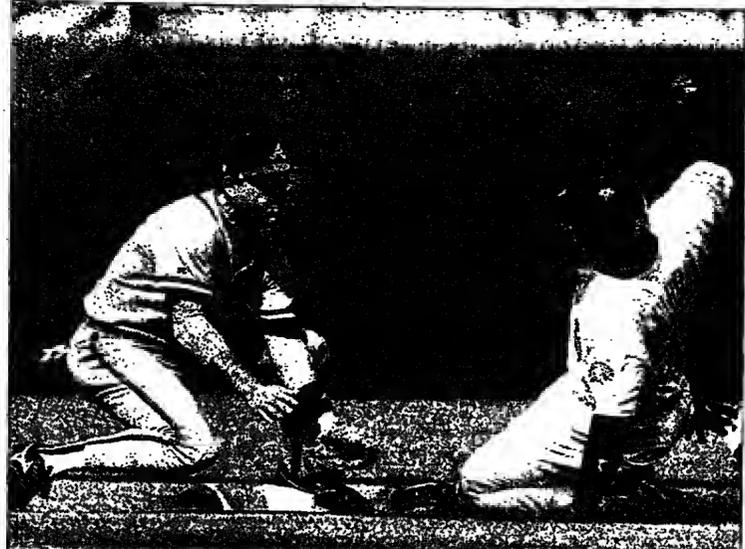
Mike Stanton, who gave up the 12th-inning single to Jeter, took the loss.

Said Texas manager Johnny Oates: "Both ball clubs battled. Both were one at bat from winning three or four times. They got the break."

Cecil Fielder, who sat out Game 1 in favor of Darryl Strawberry, belted a solo homer off Texas starter Ken Hill in the fourth to pull the Yankees within two at 4-2.

Fielder also came up with the game-tying hit, an RBI single that scored Bernie Williams from second in the eighth.

"I'm gratified by the home run and the single," Fielder said. "We have to go to Texas. We have to play better than we played here."



OH NO YOU DON'T - Atlanta Braves second baseman Mark Lemke prepares to tag out would-be base stealer Los Angeles Dodgers Wayne Kirby.

Antonio Osuna (0-1) into the bleachers in right-center field to give Atlanta the upper hand in the best-of-five series.

"He lunged it and I just tried to drive it," said Lopez, of the home run pitch. "I wasn't sure it was out."

"I waited a long time to play with this team and a long time for something like this," added the longtime backup, now the Braves starting catcher.

Smoltz, who led the majors with 24 wins this season, gave up just four hits in nine innings with two walks and seven strikeouts, raising his career post-season record to 6-1.

Braves closer Mark Wohlers allowed a single to Greg Gagne in the bottom of the 10th, but struck out two for his fifth career post-season save.

Smoltz dualed Dodgers starter Ramon Martinez for most of the game. Martinez left for a pinch-hitter in the bottom of the eighth after allowing one run and three hits with three walks and six strikeouts.

Atlanta, which rode its fifth straight division title into the playoffs, grabbed the lead in the fourth.

Marquis Grissom hit a leadoff single, stole second, moved to third on Mark Lemke's groundout and scored on Fred McGriff's sacrifice fly.

Los Angeles tied the game in the fifth on doubles by Gagne and Todd Hollandsworth, who sliced a shot down the left-field line, bringing home Gagne.

But Smoltz shut the Dodgers down the rest of the way, retiring

the last 13 batters he faced.

"I'm disappointed. We worked hard for this and we really wanted to win the first game," said Hollandsworth.

The Braves nearly avoided extra innings but they left a man on third in the eighth when Lemke bounced to second to end the inning.

YANKS 5, RANGERS 4 (12 Innings)				
AB	R	H	BB	
Hamilton cf	4	0	2	0
Raines lf	4	0	0	0
J.Gonzalez rf	4	2	3	4
Griffen cf	5	1	0	0
Lopez c	4	0	0	0
W.Clarke lf	4	0	1	0
Palmer 3b	3	0	1	0
Tilletson dh	3	0	0	0
McLemore 2b	4	1	0	0
Eliaser ss	4	1	0	0
Totals	41	4	8	4

NEW YORK				
AB	R	H	BB	
Raines lf	4	0	0	0
Boggs 3b	3	0	0	0
Hayes 2b	3	0	0	1
O'Neill rf	5	0	1	0
DeWitt 1b	3	1	1	0
Fielder dh	3	1	2	2
Fox ch	0	0	0	0
Strawberry dh	1	0	0	0
Duncan 2b	2	0	0	1
Leyritz c	1	1	0	0
Giardi c	1	1	0	0
Djeter ss	5	1	3	0
Totals	37	5	8	4

AMERICAN LEAGUE	
Team	W-L
Atlanta	000 100 000 1-2
Los Angeles	000 010 000 0-1
Atlanta (1), DP - Los Angeles 2, LOB - Atlanta 4, Los Angeles 8, 2B - Hollandsworth (1), Gagne (1), HR - Lopez (1), SB - Grissom (1), Kestler (1), CS - Chones (1), McGriff (1), Bausser (1), K (1), S - Smoltz, SF - McGriff.	

NATIONAL LEAGUE	
Team	W-L
Atlanta	000 100 000 1-2
Los Angeles	000 010 000 0-1
Atlanta (1), DP - Los Angeles 2, LOB - Atlanta 4, Los Angeles 8, 2B - Hollandsworth (1), Gagne (1), HR - Lopez (1), SB - Grissom (1), Kestler (1), CS - Chones (1), McGriff (1), Bausser (1), K (1), S - Smoltz, SF - McGriff.	

Umpires set to strike today

NEW YORK (AP) - Baseball umpires, upset that Roberto Alomar wasn't suspended for the playoffs, said they will strike today.

"We're walking out after the last game tonight," umpires union head Richie Phillips said yesterday by telephone from his Philadelphia office.

Lawyers for the umpires and baseball owners are to appear today in US District Court in Philadelphia, where the American and National leagues have asked for an injunction that would prevent yet another baseball walkout.

US District Judge Edmund Ludwig, who was assigned the case Tuesday, was attempting to work out a deal by telephone yesterday, Phillips said. Another person involved in the case said there were negotiations among owners, umpires and the players' association.

"We're not making any progress toward a settlement, any progress whatsoever," Phillips said. "There's no room for compromise. They could offer us everything in the world, and they've offered us a lot, and there's nothing that would change our stance."

Two games are scheduled today, with Baltimore playing Cleveland in the late afternoon and the New York Yankees at Texas in the evening. Replacement umpires will be on standby in case the regulars refuse to work.

Acting commissioner Bud Selig and American

League president Gene Bodig planned to join baseball's lawyers in court today. Selig did not return a call seeking comment.

Alomar, Baltimore's All-Star second baseman, spit on umpire John Hirschbeck last week in Toronto, and Bodig suspended him for five games. Under baseball precedent, the suspension will be served at the start of next season.

"They make a distinction between the two," said NL umpire Jerry Crawford, the president of the umpires' union. "A game is a game no matter when you play it."

Umpires want Alomar suspended immediately and had hoped Bodig would use the player's appeal of the penalty as an opening to increase the penalty. But Alomar withdrew the appeal Wednesday night after being assured the suspension will be served next season.

Baseball officials contend they can't suspend Alomar for the postseason because of their agreements with the players' association.

"My contention is that's nonsense," Phillips said. "The Basic Agreement gives them the right to modify the penalty once the appeal has been dismissed, denied or withdrawn. They should have modified it."

Player's union head Donald Fehr criticized the umpires on Wednesday, saying they should continue to work games and honor their contract, which contains a no-strike clause.

Maccabi breaks Milan's Euro win streak

MACCABI Tel Aviv handed Stefano Milan its first loss of the Euro League with an impressive 78-68 victory last night at Yad Eliahu.

The win puts Maccabi in a four-way tie for first place in Group A with Milan, Ulker Istanbul and Panionios.

Maccabi held off a feisty Milan with some cool shooting from the free-throw line - 18-20 on the night - including a perfect 10-10 in the second half.

Although Milan never led in the second half, Stefano used an overall 15-5 advantage on the offensive boards to keep within striking distance the entire period, closing the margin to only four points as late as 3:30 left in the game.

Maccabi used an overall good team effort to record its first home victory in the championships after four straight losses at Yad Eliahu (including three from last season). Five players scored in double figures and the defense prevented the Italians from scoring too many easy baskets.

The turning point of the game came midway through the second half, after Stefano's foreign star Anthony Bowie scored his 20th point of the night to cut Maccabi's lead to 50-49.

Maccabi head coach Zvika Sherf then decided to switch guard Derrick Sharp to cover Bowie, despite the severe height disadvantage. The tactic worked, as Sharp, and then Brad Leaf, held him to only two free throws in the

last 14 minutes of the game.

Maccabi's cause was helped further when Stefano's other foreigner, Warren Kidd - who had 14 first-half points - fouled out with 11 minutes remaining.

Leaf not only shone on the defensive end, but was a key factor in bolstering Maccabi's advantage down the stretch. He twice pulled down offensive rebounds that resulted in Doron Sheffer drilling three-point shots, the second of which opened up the Israelis' largest lead of the half at 66-56 with 6:30 remaining.

Leaf, who was 8-8 from the free-throw line, also came through with his only field goal of the game at a very opportune moment. After two minutes of neither side scoring in the closing minutes, Leaf sealed the victory with a jumper that gave Maccabi a 72-64 advantage with 1:24 left.

Leaf also proved instrumental in the first period.

Sherf changed his starting lineup from the first two European games by inserting Sharp and Oded Katash in the backcourt in place of Borko Radovic (who played less than a minute) and Sheffer (who made the most of his 19 minutes on the court).

Although Sharp played a steady half, Maccabi only held a 23-21 lead when Leaf entered the game with 6:30 remaining.

He provided an immediate spark by drawing a foul on a drive to the

GROUP A			
Team	W	L	Pts
Maccabi Tel Aviv	2	1	5
Stefano Milan	2	1	5
Panionios	2	1	5
Ulker	2	1	5
CSKA Moscow	1	2	4
Limoges	0	3	3

Jets' Johnson out three-four weeks

HEMPSTEAD, New York (AP) - Already 0-5 and ravaged by injuries, the New York Jets lost their premier attraction, top draft pick Keyshawn Johnson, for three to four weeks with torn cartilage in his knee.

Johnson, the No. 1 overall pick in this year's National Football League draft, was scheduled to undergo arthroscopic surgery yesterday.

South Africa crushes Kenya in four-nation tourney

NAIROBI (Reuters) - South Africa virtually booked its place in Sunday's final when they crushed Kenya by 202 runs in their one-day match in the Kenyan centenary four-nation tournament yesterday.

Left-handed opening batsman Gary Kirsten top-scored with 66 and captain Hansie Cronje made 63 not out as South Africa compiled an impressive 305 for eight at the Nairobi Gymkhana Club ground.

Pace bowlers Brian McMillan and Allan Donald then shared nine wickets between them as the host team was shot out for a lowly 103 in 25.1 overs.

Donald, coming on as second change, maintained a full length and intelligent variation of pace to take career-best figures of six for 23 while all-rounder McMillan, with the new ball, returned three for 17. Donald's sixth wicket gave him an overall total of 100 in international one-day cricket.

The only real batting resistance for Kenya came from opener Dipak Chudasama who struck 29 aggressive runs with six boundaries before becoming Donald's second victim.

South Africa chose to bat first on an easy-paced pitch and benefited from a fast outfield. Openers Andrew Hudson (27) and Kirsten launched the innings in confident style with a partnership of 77 in just 13 overs.

Pat Symcox went in at number three in the pinch-hitter role and clubbed a brisk 35 from 18 balls with three towering sixes before holing out to cover.

Although South Africa faltered with the loss of Herschelle Gibbs,

stumped down the legside for 17, and Kirsten, top-eding a sweep for a well-paced 66, in successive overs, Cronje and Jonny Rhodes (54) continued the momentum with a fifth-wicket stand of 101.

Sunday's final is now likely to feature South Africa and World Cup champions Sri Lanka, unless a weakened Pakistan beats Sri Lanka in the last round-robin match today and also achieves a remarkable run-rate in the process.

Manchester United prepares for make-or-break October

LONDON (Reuters) - Manchester United manager Alex Ferguson said yesterday his side's tough October schedule could make or break its season - particularly in Europe.

The English champions' resolve to defend their Premier League title will be severely tested when they face Liverpool at Old Trafford and Newcastle at St. James' Park this month.

Liverpool is currently top of the league with Newcastle second, and both sides

pushed United all the way in last season's title battle, finishing third and second respectively.

But Ferguson said he was more concerned with United's two European Champions' League matches against Fenerbahce of Turkey on October 16 and 30 than with the league clashes.

"I've always said Christmas and New Year shape the league and March and April decide it," he said. "October has a European flavor about it."

"The Premier League games are important, but our Champions' League double header against Fenerbahce is crucial. If we do well in these two games we can progress to the later stages."

The match in Istanbul will revive memories of United's intimidating European Cup visit to Galatasaray in 1992.

United, which has lifted Europe's Premier club trophy just once, in 1968, was held to a 0-0 draw in front of a hostile crowd and went out of the competition on the away-

goals rule.

Frenchman Eric Cantona was sent off after a touchline fracas and United players alleged they were attacked by Turkish policemen on their way to the changing rooms.

"The game in Turkey is a big one," Ferguson admitted. "We really need to get something from Istanbul because I don't want to be in the position where we are having to chase the game when we return to Old Trafford."

UEFA expands Champions Cup

ANTALYA, Turkey (AP) - Europe's governing soccer body yesterday expanded its Champions Cup from 16 to 24 teams beginning with the 1997-98 season.

The move, approved by the UEFA executive committee, means that every domestic champion will have a chance to make the final group of 24 teams in a bid to win Europe's most important team soccer title.

Under the new format, the defending champion and the winners of Europe's seven strongest leagues will receive automatic berths into the tournament.

The additional 16 teams will come from a summer playoff involving all other domestic champions, plus the second-place team from each of Europe's eight strongest leagues.

The final pool of 24 teams will be divided into six groups of four teams. The winner of each group and the two best runner-up teams will advance to the quarter-final round.

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Haggai Amir (left), Dror Adani, and Yigal Amir await sentencing yesterday in Tel Aviv District Court on conspiracy charges relating to the murder of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, plans to harm Arabs, and the possession and manufacture of weapons. (Reuters)

(Continued from Page 1) firearms, was given a 12-year term. Dror Adani, found guilty of illegally transferring a weapon and conspiracy, was imprisoned for seven years. Yigal Amir's lawyer Shmuel Fleishman described the sentencing as reasonable. Moshe Meroz, who represented Haggai, also said he was satisfied with the sentence, but did not rule out an appeal. Zioo Amir, who represented Adani and also said he would consider an appeal, was also satisfied with his client's sentence. "The result is just," he said. "The court acted fairly and objectively and has renewed my faith in the judicial system. I only have respect for the judges' decision."

Those attending the trial were astonished at the leniency of the sentences. Judges Amnon Strashnov, Ze'ev Hammer, and Shelly Timen heard pre-sentencing arguments from both prosecutor Penina Guy and defense lawyers. Guy requested the maximum 39 years for Yigal Amir, 78 years for Haggai Amir, and 29 years for Adani. "These are three people who plotted to kill Rabin only because of his opinions and his position," she said. "Haggai Amir manufactured 70 unique bullets with the aim of killing Rabin and causing a quick and certain death."

The defense lawyers asked the court to treat their clients like any other defendants, and to ignore political implications of the trial. The three defendants were allowed to speak prior to sentencing. Adani expressed his regret. Haggai Amir, who was removed from the court during the sentencing for shouting at Strashnov, chose to remain silent; and Yigal Amir, smiling throughout the hearing, delivered a speech expressing his lack of regret, and taking all the blame. "During these past four years, I felt in imminent danger," he said. "I tried to drag these people into these acts. If it hadn't been for my brother, who tried to dissuade me from killing Rabin, I would have done it three years ago. I am sorry I didn't, and would do it again if I could. I am proud of everything I have done."

In passing sentence, Strashnov described the murder as the most despicable the country has ever known and as causing severe damage to the essence of democracy. He said the crimes were even worse because the defendants are young, educated, served in the army, and were brought up on the same democratic values which they trampled on with the bullets which killed Rabin.

IDF defense lawyers petition against Army drug policy

EVELYN GORDON

SEVEN army defense attorneys petitioned the High Court of Justice yesterday against the army's policy of giving first-time drug users criminal records. In civilian courts, first-time users are often sentenced without conviction, since a criminal record creates many hardships for youngsters applying for school or jobs. However, the military courts do not have such an option. In response to a petition filed by six soldiers last year, the High Court upheld the army's right to try drug users in military courts despite this problem, but suggested that the army consider other ways to mitigate the consequences.

In response to this suggestion, the army earlier this year agreed to ask the president to erase first-time users' criminal records after three and a half years, or one and a half years after the offender completes his army service — the earlier of the two. Normally, the criminal record would be erased only after seven years.

However, the army continued, it would recommend such an erasure only for soldiers caught using soft drugs (marijuana or hashish) rather than hard drugs, only if the offense were strictly one-time, and only if the soldier avoided serious disciplinary offenses and received good reports from his superiors. The defense attorneys then petitioned the court, charging that these conditions violated the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. This law states that soldiers' rights cannot be infringed upon "more than is required by the nature and characteristics of his service."

The petition said the criminal record should be erased as soon as the soldier is discharged.

WEATHER

City	Forecast
Haiifa	22-28
Tiberias	20-32
Afula	19-30
Sarnaria	15-27
Tel Aviv	20-29
Jerusalem	18-27
Beer Sheva	18-31
Dead Sea	28-33
Eilat	22-35

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear. Shabbat: Gradual rise in temperatures.

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AROUND THE WORLD

City	Low	High	Forecast
Amsterdam	10	15	partly cloudy
Berlin	10	15	partly cloudy
London	10	15	partly cloudy
Paris	10	15	partly cloudy
Rome	10	15	partly cloudy
Tokyo	10	15	partly cloudy
Hong Kong	10	15	partly cloudy
Los Angeles	10	15	partly cloudy
San Francisco	10	15	partly cloudy
Madrid	10	15	partly cloudy
Moscow	10	15	partly cloudy
New York	10	15	partly cloudy
Beijing	10	15	partly cloudy
Delhi	10	15	partly cloudy
Sydney	10	15	partly cloudy
Auckland	10	15	partly cloudy

El Al reports few cancelations following unrest

ONLY a few individuals, mainly from the US and Europe, canceled their flight reservations with El Al after last week's rioting, the airline announced yesterday. El Al administrators said they were surprised that so few people had canceled visits to Israel immediately after the unrest. "We are still hopeful that tourists will come in the winter months, though not in the numbers we expected at the beginning of the year," an El Al spokesman said.

The number of travelers who passed through Ben-Gurion Airport in September increased 7.93% to 666,708, from 617,728 in the same month last year, an Airports Authority spokesman said yesterday. Since the beginning of the year, 5,426,020 people have passed through the airport, a 4.46% increase over last year, despite this year's terrorist attacks. Meanwhile, an El Al Boeing 767 hit a bird shortly after taking off at midnight on Wednesday and returned to the airport. The pilots felt a bump and, though all systems were operating normally, decided to return to the airport and have the plane checked due to the long flight ahead of them. They were on the way to Tashkent and then Hoog Koog. The flight took off again two hours later.

Over 2,000 protest development in Arazim Valley

LIAT COLLINS and HEATHER CHAIT

THE Arazim Valley at Jerusalem's western entrance came alive yesterday with over 2,000 hikers wading their way among the greenery to protest plans for large-scale development in the area.

The walkers, to the lilt of toots of musicians, set out from Mevasseret Zioo, Lifta, Ramot and Motza to assemble in the valley for the happening, organized by the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel and the Arazim Residents Action Council.

There are plans for massive construction, roadwork and an electric high-tension network in the valley, which conservation groups want recognized as a national park and official green belt to stop urban sprawl. SPNI Jerusalem branch member Abraham Shaked described the valley as the only of its type in the area and said the planned construction would completely destroy its special nature. From ancient times until today, the accepted approach to local planning has precluded building in Jerusalem's valleys, Shaked said.

"The concept has been to keep the valleys green while building on the ridges to preserve the beauty of Jerusalem as a city of hills," Shaked said. He blamed narrow-minded real estate and financial considerations for the change in approach. The fight to preserve the Arazim Valley is one of the few issues on which current Environment Minister Raphael Eitan (Tsomet) and his predecessor, Meretz leader Yossi Sarid, agree. Holding a fig picked from a tree in the area, Sarid said, "For this tree we won't be silent. The idea of building here is ludicrous. Whoever wants to build here has no love for Jerusalem."

In a direct challenge to Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, an active supporter of the development, Sarid said, "There is talk of dividing Jerusalem now, don't let the builders divide it." Molelet leader Rehavam Ze'evi, recalling his childhood spent in the valley, said, "This valley belongs to all Israelis; everyone wants a green entrance to Jerusalem." Naomi Tsour, coordinator of the SPNI's Jerusalem office, said the occasion was important for people's general awareness of the environment in Israel. As dusk fell, Irit Maayan closed the event with a rendition of a song composed by Haim Tsour, "Emek Ha'arazim."

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CORRECTION!

In the "Real Estate Supplement" on September 13, 1996, there was a mistake in the write-up "Retiring in Style"; The name "Concorde" was printed in error. It should have been "Beit Tovei Ha'ir", located at 36 Malchei Yisrael St., Jerusalem. Tel: 02-5318100

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